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IFE AND LABOUR
OF THE PEOPLE
N LONDON

EDITED BY

CHARLES BOOTH

VOLUME VII

POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY TRADES

(CONTINUED)

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PART I.—DRESS.

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DRESS.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

The trades included in this part represent manufacture on a considerable scale down to its very lowest grade; and as to dealing, the operations vary from wholesale to the most minutely retail. Tailors and shoe-makers, milliners and seamstresses, hosiers and silk dealers—every variety of establishment is included, and in all no less than 260,000 persons are employed, of whom, however, by far the largest proportion are females, and very many of them young girls, as the following table shows:—

Persons represented: (A) Census Enumeration.

Enumerated by Age and Sex.

	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65—	Total.
Males	1703	12,311	14,738	49,681	7362	4331	90,126
Females	5691	41,106	34,703	72,811	9912	5669	169,892
Total	7394	53,417	49,441	122,492	17,274	10,000	260,018

Only 82,000 are counted as heads of families, and of these no less than 30,000 are females. The members of the families of these 82,000 persons add up to 323,000, and are apportioned amongst the various sections as follows :—

Persons represented : (B) Enumeration by Families.

No.	Sections.	Heads.	Total numbers (excluding Servants).	Per family (excluding Servants).	Servants.
38	Tailors	21,403	90,146	4·21	1730
39	Boot and Shoe-makers	21,151	95,708	4·53	906
40	Hatters	2,253	9,593	4·26	234
41	Dress-makers and Milliners	15,840	42,215	2·67	1489
42	Shirt-makers and Seamstresses	7,249	17,169	2·37	157
43	Machinists	1,939	6,691	3·45	24
44	Trimmings, Artificial Flowers, &c.	5,571	21,881	3·93	686
45	Drapers and Silk-mercers	7,241	31,285	4·32	3092
	Total	82,647	314,688	3·80	8318
	Servants		8,318		
	Total population		323,006		

The connection between female heads of families and small numbers of dependents is shown very clearly here, and is, of course, quite natural, as wives are most commonly dependent.*

The social classification of these people is as follows :—

* When women keep their husbands, the man, nevertheless, appears as head of the family, and as occupied in some way, however nominal the claim to be considered so may be.

Lower Class.	4 or more persons to 1 room	18,851	5·8 %	14·8 %	Crowded: 35·3 %
	3 and under 4 „ „	28,892	9·0 %		
	2 and under 3 „ „	66,380		20·5 %	
	1 and under 2 „ „	82,459		25·6 %	Not Crowded: 64·7 %
Central Class.	Less than 1 „ „	13,505	4·2 %	32·8 %	
	More than 4 rooms	72,679	22·5 %		
	4 or more persons to 1 servant	19,496	6·1 %		
Upper Class.	Less than 4 persons to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servants	9,515		2·9 %	
	All others with 2 or more servants	2,911		·8 %	
	Servants	8,318		2·6 %	
		323,006		100 %	

Re-stating these particulars by sections, the following comparison is obtained:—

Social Condition (by Sections).

Sections.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to a servant.	Less than 4 persons to a servant.	Servants.	Total.
Tailors	16,889	19,856	21,849	29,266	2286	1730	91,876
Per cent.....	18	21½	24	32	2½	2	100
Boot and Shoe-makers	18,511	24,788	23,422	27,879	1108	906	96,614
Per cent.....	19	25½	24	29	1½	1	100
Hatters	1230	1759	2406	3880	318	234	9827
Per cent.....	12½	18	24½	39½	3	2½	100
Dress-makers & Milliners	3555	7082	14,913	14,300	2365	1489	43,704
Per cent.....	8	16	34	33	5½	3½	100
Shirt-makers & Seamstresses..	2155	4026	7373	3412	203	157	17,326
Per cent.....	12½	23	42½	20	1	1	100
Machinists.....	978	1877	2404	1415	17	24	6715
Per cent.....	14½	28	36	21	—	½	100
Trimmings, Artificial flowers, &c.....	3333	4672	5282	7505	1089	686	22,567
Per cent.....	15	20½	23½	33	5	3	100
Drapers & Silk Mercers	1092	2320	4810	18,023	5040	3092	34,377
Per cent.....	3	7	14	52½	14½	9	100

Arranged in order of apparent poverty as indicated by the proportion living under crowded conditions, the following result is shown :—

	Employers and Employed.	Employed only.*
	Crowded.	Crowded.
Boot and Shoe-makers	44·9 per cent.	51·3 per cent.
Tailors	40·0 ,,	48·6 ,,
Machinists	42·6 ,,	44·5 ,,
Trimmings, Artificial flowers, &c.	35·5 ,,	43·2 ,,
Shirt-makers & Seamstresses..	35·6 ,,	38·5 ,,
Hatters	30·4 ,,	36·2 ,,
Dress-makers and Milliners ...	24·3 ,,	33·2 ,,
Drapers and Silk Mercers	9·8 ,,	15·7 ,,

The changes since 1861 in the number of those employed in this group of trades is as follows :—

CENSUS ENUMERATION, 1861 TO 1891, FOR EACH SECTION.

	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Tailors	37,000	38,300	40,300	52,300
Boot and Shoe-makers	42,700†	35,600	37,400	39,000
Hatters	7,600	6,200	4,900	5,500
Dress-makers and Milliners...	57,000	62,000	71,800	83,400
Shirt-makers & Seamstresses	28,100	26,900	27,300	18,500
Machinists	No Return	10,700	6,000	10,700
Trimmings, Artificial flowers, &c.....	18,300	16,000	16,900	19,700
Drapers and Silk Mercers ...	20,200	22,900	24,400	30,900
Total	210,900	218,600	229,000	260,000

* It is assumed that the employers may be taken to be living under less crowded conditions than the employed.

† This number is swollen by the inclusion of some boot-makers' wives in the 1861 census.

Taken together these trades provide employment for increased numbers, but not fully in proportion to the increase of population. Tailors and drapers show considerable increases, but hatters have undoubtedly decreased. The occupations of dress-makers and seamstresses are liable to be confused, and the decrease in the one may perhaps be set off against the large increase in the other. Machinists may belong to any section—they are for the most part those who handle sewing machines.

There are about 17,000 employers, with an average of 12 work-people to each; and there are no less than 9000 men and 25,000 women, tailors, milliners, dress-makers, &c., returned as neither employer nor employed. It is no doubt difficult at times in work of this kind to say whether a person is employed or working on his or her own account.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

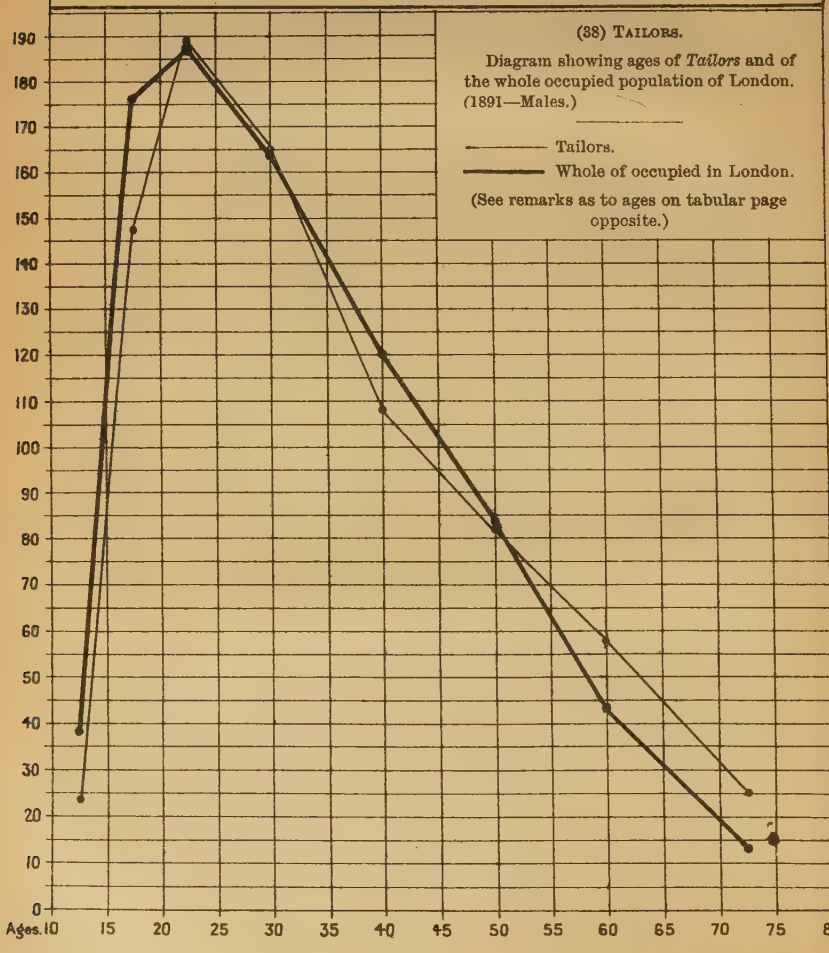
Of Method adopted in preparing the Diagrams of Numbers of occupied Males at Different Ages.

Of every 10,000 males in London, 6300 are counted as *occupied*. These 6300 males are divided by ages in the following manner :—

Ages.	Proportion per 10,000 of total aged 10-80.	Proportion at each year of age.
10 and under 15	193·5	38·7
15 ,, 20	880·0	176·0
20 ,, 25	933·0	186·6
25 ,, 35	1636·0	163·6
35 ,, 45	1201·0	120·1
45 ,, 55	830·0	83·0
55 ,, 65	434·0	43·4
65 ,, 80	192·5	12·8
	6300·0	

The last column, giving the yearly mean, is obtained by dividing the proportionate figures by the number of years which they cover. Thus the proportionate figures for ages 10-15, as representing 5 years, are divided by 5, giving 38·7 as the mean; similarly, for 25-35, covering 10 years, the figures are divided by 10, giving 163·6 as the mean number. The numbers at the different age-periods in each Trade-section or Group are brought to the same scale, and the charts drawn in accordance with the mean figures, as is shown by the indicating points of the curves being placed in the centre of each age-period.

Proportionate Numbers Occupied.



CHAPTER I.

TAILORS AND BOOTMAKERS.

TAILORS. (*Section* 38.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

	Females.		Males.			Total.
	—19	20—	—19	20—54	55—	
...	3595	18277	3734	19584	4156	52346

portion of men retaining their nt after the meridian of life is past rably greater than that of other ales (*see* diagram). The men being rates, and often providing their -rooms, employers have not the ntive to replace them by younger ir earning power diminishes. The in middle life is the reflex effect of nal proportion of old men.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		16960	Heads of Families, 21,403.
	Females		4443	
Birthplace	In London	37 %	7906	
	Out of London	63 %	13497	
Industrial Status	Employer	15 %	3149	
	Employed	75 %	16115	
	Neither	10 %	2139	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	21,403	23,354	45,389	1730	91,876
Average in family ..	1	1·09	2·12	·08	4·29

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
8971	12,956	8553	52,346

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Pt. I.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	16,889	18·4
2 & under 3 ,,	19,856	21·6
1 & under 2 ,,	21,849	23·8
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms	29,266	31·9
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	1815	2·0
All others with 2 or more servants ..	471	·4
Servants	1730	1·9
	91,876	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	51 %	21 %	40 %
Not ,, ..	49 %	79 %	60 %

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 30600	Outer 2272	32872
North	Inner 7149	Outer 10242	17391
West ..	Inner 3044	Outer 7986	11030
Central	Inner 12985		12985
South-East	Inner 1118	Outer 5940	7058
South-West	Inner 4087	Outer 6453	10540
			91,876

Inner 58,983, or 64 %
Outer 32,893, or 36 %

Details of Occupations from the Census Dictionary).

nd Navy clothier, dealer in regi-othes dealer, outfitter, slop-maker, er, law and clerical robe makers, nd gaiter makers, trouser and vest cotton tailoress, tailor's cutter, eller, baister, stitcher, binder, e maker.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed.				Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females.				
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.	Under 20.	Over 20.	Males.	Females	
.....	3399	368	3734	18,253	6595	16,634	2088	1275	52,346
Total	3767		45,216				3363		

Proportion of Employers to Employed–1 to 12.

The Tailoring Trade.

So far as the *manufacture* of clothing is concerned, this subject has already been fully dealt with both as to East and West End work (*see* Vols. I. and II. of the original, or IV. of the present edition). Since these inquiries were made, there has been no material change in the condition of the trade. The tendency then noted for the West to adopt the methods of the East, and the steady advance of the Jewish workshops in the class of work they undertake, still continue. The increased efficiency of inspection by the Factory and other inspectors has had a salutary effect. In the East End the employers are more careful not to overcrowd their work-rooms; in the West a few small workshops have been closed, and in their place large new workshops are springing up, where the men pay 2*s* or 3*s* a week for a seat. Such inspection exercises a strong though often unrecognized influence upon the trade, and steady, although slow, improvement is to be noted in the condition of the men working in the shops. The compulsory registration of out-workers acts in a similar manner on behalf of the home-workers.

The London "Log" or scale of piece-work has been maintained, only one firm having broken away. The firms working under it are probably compensated for the slightly higher rates they pay by the amicable relations that at present exist between them and their employees. There appears to be cordial co-operation between the Men's Society and the Masters' Association, so that the few disputes that have arisen have been settled without difficulty, and the number of cases in which the intervention of the Societies has been sought has been greatly diminished.

Salesmen.

Dealers in many kinds of clothing are included in the Census under the general heading of "Tailor," but outfitters and tailors' salesmen are the only important class that have not been already described, and need separate mention here. They form a numerous body, and are quite distinct from the men who cut and make the garments. The business is divided into two branches: the "bespoke" and the ready-made or "R. M." trade, as the latter is familiarly called. This division tends to become more sharply defined. A person wishing clothes made to order will usually not go to a shop selling ready-made goods, nor will purchasers of ready-made clothes go to a bespoke tailor, although the latter often keeps a small stock of ready-made clothing to accommodate customers, and the former frequently advertises his goods as "made to measure."

In large establishments salesmen are known as first, second, third, and so on, and, by a tacit understanding, the first or senior salesman has a prior right to serve customers. Thus No. 2 would not serve a customer whilst No. 1 was disengaged, nor No. 3 unless Nos. 1 and 2 were serving, unless requested to do so.

The Hours of Work are those usual in shops. In the City and West End 8.30 A.M. to 7 or 7.30 P.M., whilst in the suburbs the closing time is two hours later. A few salesmen live on their employers' premises, but to do this is unusual, and is becoming still more so. Some employers, however, continue to provide dinner and tea for the assistants, so that they may be always within call should their services be needed. In these houses thirty minutes are allowed for dinner and tea respectively, whilst where the men go out an additional fifteen minutes or half an hour will be given for dinner. The busiest times are the same as those of the journeyman tailor—about Easter and Christmas.

Remuneration is by salary and commission. The salary

may be anything from 20*s* up to 60*s* or 80*s* per week, the higher sums being only paid by the best firms. In ordinary houses 30*s* to 35*s* a week is usual, the latter being reckoned a good wage. The commission, called "B.Y.'s" (an abbreviation of the word bounty), adds 5*s* or more to each man's earnings, the amount varying accordingly to the house and the opportunities of the salesman. In a good City house a first salesman might reckon on 15*s* a week, whilst juniors would be fortunate if their "B.Y.'s" exceeded 5*s*. This commission may be a fixed sum on each suit, but more frequently varies according to the material, being greatest on goods that the firm wishes to sell quickly, the amount being marked on the ticket attached to the roll of cloth. In this way old patterns are disposed of and the stock kept fresh and unsoiled.

Men may enter the trade as apprentices, serving three or four years, or, having obtained a clerkship in the counting-house of a large firm, a young man may pass on to the show-room. In either case, clerical work occupies some time, during which a general knowledge of the business routine is obtained. On entering a department the junior would become a stock-keeper under one of the salesmen, and be gradually initiated, serving customers when all his seniors were employed. Should he show ordinary ability, promotion naturally follows as vacancies arise, until he becomes first salesman, or he may seek a situation as salesman elsewhere before that time if he has confidence in his own powers.

When a man has become first salesman, his ambition is to start in business on his own account, and to do this he must have a cutter. Thus the usual plan is for a cutter and salesman to combine in starting a new business. Should the salesman not be able to do this, his prospects become distinctly worse as age advances, and when he reaches fifty he has little chance of obtaining a new situation if thrown out of work.

Organization.

The position of the Trade Societies connected with the Tailoring trades may be gathered from the following table :—

Numbers in the London Trade (Census 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.	Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.			
52,346	18,253	Amalgamated Society of Tailors (1866).	2127	Gives Travelling, Strike, Sick and Death benefits. Superannuation to members over 60 years of age. Limits hours of work to 54½.
		International Tailors, Machinists and Pressers' Union (1889).	132	Strike and Lock-out benefits only.
		Independent Tailors, Machinists and Pressers' Union (1891).	150	A split from the International Union. Subscriptions and benefits the same.
		London Clothiers' Cutters' Trade Union (1889).	500	Lock-out and Strike benefits.
		Metropolitan Foreman Tailors' Mutual Benefit Society (1850).	180*	Gives Unemployed, Sick and Death benefits. Also Annuities to elected infirm members. Publishes a monthly trade journal.
		London Foreman Tailors' Mutual Association.	149	Gives Unemployed, Sick and Death Benefits. Has a special fund for Superannuation.
		Tailors' and Outfitters' Assistants' Mutual Association (1883).	313†	Gives Unemployed, Sick and Death benefits. Also Old Age Pensions by extra subscription.
			3551	

It will be seen that the total number of members of these organizations is small, compared to the whole number employed.

The Amalgamated Society of Tailors is the largest association connected with the trade. At the beginning of

* Has 200 country members. † Includes some country members.

this year (1895), it had 332 branches and 15,540 members, of whom 11,847 were entitled to benefit. These branches are grouped in districts. The London District includes nineteen branches, but one of these—Ealing—is outside the County of London, whilst two others—Penge and Woolwich—not grouped in the London District, are within that area, so that the London of the Census contains twenty branches with a membership of 2127 men, of whom 1652 are entitled to benefit. The two Societies (International and Independent) connected with the Jewish trade have little influence. The membership is insignificant compared with the numbers engaged in this class of work. The subscription (2*d* a week), is too small to provide benefits, and although the strike or lock-out benefit is nominally 12*s* a week, should any dispute arise the members would have to depend upon outside help. In this, as in other Jewish trades, the workman wants an immediate and tangible return for his subscription, and failing this he soon ceases to pay.

Besides the societies included in the list, there are others admitting employers as well as employed to membership. Belonging to this class are the London Alliance of Master and Foreman Tailors (1891), and the City of London Masters, and Foreman Tailors' Society (1887). The membership of these societies consists mainly of cutters, and probably the employers enrolled were originally cutters. These societies, like those supported entirely by the men, provide assistance for their members when unemployed, or sick, and when incapacitated by age or infirmity, as well as at death. Other advantages appeal specially to employers, such as access to registers, kept by the society, of persons who are "undesirable customers," or "dishonest and intemperate workmen," whilst the lectures and essays given at the members' meetings—usually held weekly—are acceptable to both sections. These usually deal with technical

subjects; thus in last winter's programme of one society, "Big Men's Overcoats," "Dress coats," "How to cut a Jacket from a Frockcoat Pattern, and a Chester from a Jacket Pattern," were respectively the topic of a paper and evening's discussion. Most of these societies have technical libraries, some being very complete, whilst one, the Metropolitan Foreman Tailors' Mutual Benefit Society, publishes a monthly trade journal. With all it is reckoned a point of honour to give the society prompt intimation of any known vacancy, so that unemployed members may have the first chance.

The employers have two trade societies, the "Association of London Master Tailors" (1890), representing the West End style of work, and the "Tailors' Improvement Association" (1887), that of the East End. The former society includes nearly 150 firms, all of whom accept the London log as the standard of price for labour. The Tailors' Improvement Society has nearly two hundred members, mostly Jews. It includes most of the larger employers in the Whitechapel district, but only a minority of the small employers. Although the subscription is fixed at a minimum sum (4*d* per week), and a special inducement is given to this class by the offer to advance loans not exceeding £5, free of interest, to members, here, as amongst the workmen, from whose ranks most of them have emerged, the desire for some immediate advantage is too strong to allow of any effective permanent organization. In times of dispute these men would, no doubt, rally to the association.

The Tailors' Benevolent Society, known as the Benevolent Institution for the Relief of Aged and Infirm Journeymen Tailors, is one of the few institutions of this class which are fairly well supported by the men, about nine hundred journeymen being annual subscribers, whilst a few are life members, all being eligible for benefit. The Institution has an Asylum at Haverstock Hill, and gives 10*s* a week,

with coals and medical attendance, to the male inmates, and 9*s* a week to a certain number of out-pensioners selected by the cumulative voting system. There are now sixty-one pensioners. The income is nearly £2700 per annum, and the invested capital £32,600.

There are a few friendly societies connected with the Jewish trade, such as the Tailors' Mutual Friendly Benefit Society, and the City of London Jewish Tailors' Friendly Society.

Social Condition.

The contrast between East and West methods of work is seen reflected in the home life of the families as indicated by the rooms occupied by members of the trade in different districts, and is clearly brought out in the table which is subjoined. The following shows the social condition by districts :—

Social Classification by Districts (*Enumeration by Families*).

Tailors.	East.		Central.		North.		West.		South.		All London.	
	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%
Families living												
3 or more persons to a room	8937	27	3258	25	2439	14	1071	10	1184	7	16,889	18
2 & under 3 „ „	8320	25½	3929	30½	3203	19	1991	18	2353	13	19,856	21½
Crowded, per cent.		52½		55½		33		28		20		39½
1 & under 2 to a room	6905	21	3470	27	4065	23	3171	29	4238	24	21,849	24
Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms. 4 or more persons to a servant	8169	25	2015	15½	6236	36	4044	36	8802	50	29,266	32
Less than 4 to 1 servant, & 4 or more to 2 servants	242	½	145	1	651	4	293	3	484	3	1815	2
All others with 2 or more servants	12	—	44	—	192	1	134	1	89	½	471	½
Servants	303	1	124	1	529	3	326	3	448	2½	1730	2
Not Crowded, per cent.		47½		44½		67		72		80		60½
Total population.....	32,888	100	12,985	100	17,375	100	11,030	100	17,598	100	91,876	100
Percentage in each district	36		14		19		12		19		100	

While the percentage living under crowded conditions is

greater in Central London (55½) than in the East (52½) the proportion living under conditions of extreme crowding rises highest in East London, being 27 per cent. as against 25 per cent. in Central London. Separating those living three and less than four in a room from those still more densely crowded, the comparison is again unfavourable to East-enders; 12½ per cent. living four or more persons to a room in East London as compared with 8½ per cent. in Central London. As the population concerned is 2½ times more numerous in East than Central London, it is the East that is mainly responsible for the crowded condition of the trade as a whole, the Jewish element being undoubtedly the controlling factor.* In Central London the high rents compel even those earning good wages to economize in the number of rooms occupied. The North and West districts have much in common, and show more favourable conditions amongst the work-people. In South London, however, the tailors' position is apparently much better than in the other localities, and subdividing the districts into South-East and South-West, the degree of comfort appears still greater in South-East London, where the proportion living three or more to a room falls to 4½ per cent., while the comfortable central class rises to 58½ per cent. So far as the journeyman tailor is concerned this is probably illusive. The southern Metropolitan districts cover a wider area than the northern, and so, with a less crowded population, cheaper rents may partially account for the greater number of rooms occupied, whilst a more important cause is found in the presence of a large proportion of tailors working on their own account, who, needing a shop for their trade, are usually householders. Probably the journeymen tailor's position is much the same as that of his North and West London comrades, any gain he may make by slightly lower rents being counterbalanced by increased difficulty and cost in reaching his employment.

* See table on page 24.

BOOT AND SHOE-MAKERS. (*Section* 39.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females. —19	Females. 20—	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
Boot & Shoe-maker.....	2489	5038	4165	22,036	5261	38,989

Here the diagram shows the influence of piece-work more strongly than with the tailors. The large proportion of old men remaining at the trade depresses the proportion of younger men materially below the normal average.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	20,387	Heads of Famili 21,151.
	Females	764	
Birthplace	In London .... 52 %	10,927	
	Out of London.. 48 %	10,224	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 13 %	2745	
	Employed..... 67 %	14,221	
	Neither ..... 20 %	4185	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Tot
Total.	21,151	22,474	52,083	906	96,
Average in family ..	1	1·07	2·46	·04	4

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
16,256	8980	5811	7932	38,989

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Pt. I.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	18,511	19·3
2 & under 3 ,,	24,788	25·6
1 & under 2 ,,	23,422	24·2
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms	27,879	28·9
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	877	·9
All others with 2 or more servants..	231	·2
Servants	906	·9
	96,614	100

Distribution.

East	Inner 32,383 / Outer 3651	36,
North	Inner 4727 / Outer 18,356	23,
West	Inner 1317 / Outer 7846	9
Central Inner	6419	6
South East	Inner 1619 / Outer 7733	9
South West	Inner 6385 / Outer 5975	12,
		96

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	56 %	31 %	45 %
Not ,, ..	44 %	69 %	55 %

Inner 53,050, or 55 %
Outer 43,564, or 45 %

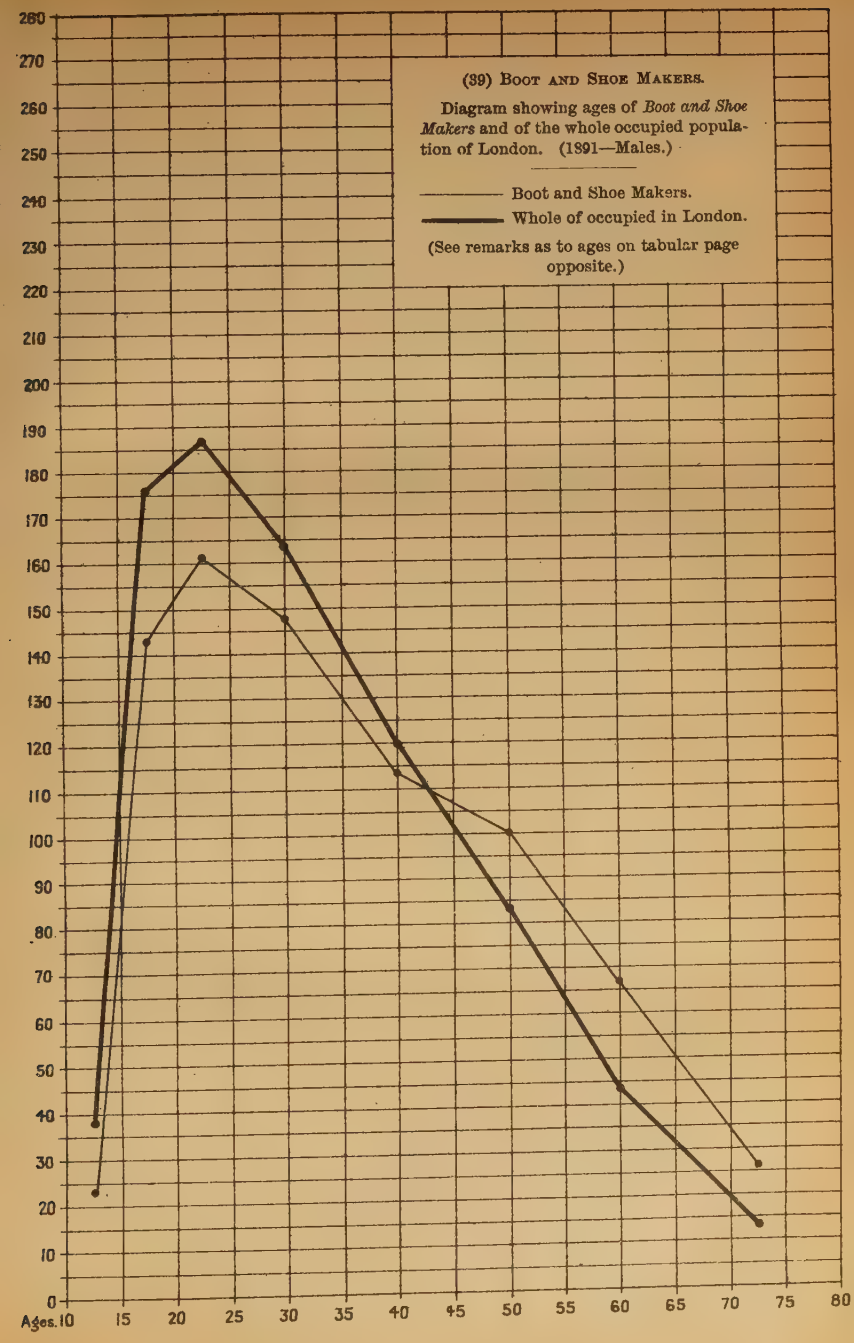
Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Cordwainer, cobbler, clog-maker, last and boot-tree maker, ladies' shoe man, shoe and slipper binder, maker, dealer; boot and shoe lace, tagger, dozener, maker, dealer; lift (shoe-heel) cutter, maker; heel-parer, shoe-top and upper maker, rough stuff cutter, clicker, closer, blocker, paster, laster, rounder, sew-round hand, operator (sewing machine).

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers. Males.	Employers. Females	Employed. Males. Under 20.	Employed. Males. Over 20.	Employed. Females. Under 20.	Employed. Females. Over 20.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females	Tot
Shoe, Boot & Clog Manufacture..	2775	267	4165	19,628	2489	4427	4894	344	38,9
TOTAL.....	3042		30,709				5238		
	Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 10.								

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 88.)



Boot and Shoe-making.

This subject, like tailoring, has been dealt with very fully in previous volumes. Certain changes resulting from trades union action have, however, taken place since Mr. Schloss wrote in 1887, and have been followed by results which, though not foreseen, can now be traced as natural consequences, and of which the lock-out that terminated in April, 1895, was the final outcome. Put very briefly, it may be said that the successful demand of the unions for workshop accommodation, by putting a stop to homework, encouraged the employment of machinery, and thus fell in with, and partly brought about, a revolution in the trade. Boots have been cheapened, but the conditions of labour have been greatly disturbed, and Northampton and Leicester have probably benefited at the expense of London.

Organization.

The following table gives the particulars of the trades unions representing the boot and shoe trades:—

Numbers in the London Trade (Census 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.	Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.			
38,989	19,628	Amalgamated Society of Boot and Shoe-makers (1862).	1734*	Gives Travelling, Dispute, Sick, and Death benefits. Ensures employers against loss of material entrusted to members.
		National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (1874).	4945	Gives Travelling, Dispute, Sick, and Death benefits from general fund. Supplemented in the Metropolitan Branch from local funds.
		International Upper Machinists' Union (1891)	86	Jewish Societies. Dispute benefit only.
		International Sew-round and Operative Union (1892)	72	
			6837	

* Financial members only. About six hundred others, being out of benefit, are not returned to the head office.

It would appear that 35 per cent. of the adult males in these trades are members of a trades union, but of those actually engaged in the making of boots and shoes, the proportion is considerably larger, as the census totals include assistants in boot and shoe shops, who are unorganized, and men employed in some minor but distinct trades, such as boot-tree making, which are also without organization.

The existing unions, having gradually absorbed lesser societies, now include all branches of boot manufacture. The Amalgamated Society represents the handworkers and closers, and the men engaged in the "sew-round" trade; the National Union includes lasters, finishers, pressmen, and others connected with machine-sewn work. Both these organizations have branches in all parts of the country. The National Union revised its rules in 1894 in a Socialistic direction, including amongst a long list of objects, "the introduction of industrial co-operation in the trade," and the advocacy of "the nationalization of the land and implements of production and their distribution." Women are admitted at half fees with half benefits, but few have as yet taken advantage of the opportunity offered them.

There are two organizations representing the employers. One of these, the West End Boot and Shoe-makers' Association, seems, however, to be without any definite membership, subscription, or rules. Questions as to piece rates for hand-sewn work are settled between the associated employers and the men's society. This is always the case as regards the "groundwork," *e.g.* affixing the sole to the upper, but minor points as to extras are arranged less formally. Prices vary in different houses, but still tend upwards. The movement is aided by the fact that men working for one employer on a particular class of shoe develop a special aptitude, so that the employer will rather pay something extra than lose their services.

The employers in the wholesale machine-made trade are represented by the Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association. This is a strong organization, embracing all the leather trades in a protection society, and besides the firms engaged in other trades, it includes 105 London boot manufacturers. In connection with this Masters' Association and the National Union of the men, there are three boards of conciliation and arbitration for the London district, dealing with different departments of the trade.

The contest between the manufacturers' association and the men's union, which culminated in a lock-out last March (1895), is fresh in everyone's memory. It lasted about six weeks, and was terminated by mutual concession and agreement under the influence of the Board of Trade. Particulars of the questions under dispute have been published by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, and need not be recapitulated at length, particularly as the conflict did not specially concern London. It is enough to say that the men (in the Provinces) objected to the "basket system," that is, to work cut and prepared in factories being sent into the villages to be lasted, and (in London) to a reversion to the practice of giving out home-work generally. This practice had been abandoned by agreement (without a strike) in 1890; but had never been discontinued by the Jewish employers, and was again extending amongst others. On their side the masters viewed the growing power of the union with distrust, which differences at arbitration boards, and refusal by the men to accept adverse decisions, only served to deepen; and while not attaching much importance to the particular demands of the men, traced in them an unwarrantable and progressive attempt to interfere in the management of their factories. The settlement, besides determining the immediate questions in dispute, mainly in the sense desired by the men, established joint committees of employers and workmen to arrange terms of piece-work for lasting and

finishing, and reconstituted the Board of Arbitration with more clearly defined powers, and a financial guarantee by both parties to secure the carrying out of future awards. This is noteworthy as the first attempt to give any legal validity to awards of this kind. The resources of the union were greatly strained in the attempt to support their men during the lock-out, and many of the masters could ill-afford to continue the stoppage of their manufacture for which reviving trade offered a great demand. Each side gained some advantage, and both were satisfied to accept the settlement; and some difficulties which threatened to cause a renewal of the contest having been successfully overcome, it is to be hoped that an era of peace has set in.

Many of the men engaged in the hand-sewn trade were locked out with the rest, although the questions in dispute did not concern them. The Amalgamated Society levied its members to support those locked out, but the settlement coming immediately after, the call was countermanded and the money returned. This is the only occasion for twenty-two years on which a levy has been called for.

Two or three friendly societies are specially connected with these trades, and a benevolent society, founded in 1836, provides annuities for aged and distressed master boot and shoe-makers and their widows. There are thirty-six annuitants, and the asylums at Mortlake contain fifteen residences. A journeymen's pension fund also existed till 1863, when its funds and liabilities were handed over to the master's institution.

Social Condition.

There is a marked resemblance between the conditions, social as well as industrial, prevailing in this and in the tailoring trade. In both occupations two distinct systems —machine and hand-work—are found, with sharply defined distinctions between machine workers and handicraftsmen; in both, the machine work is largely concentrated in East

London, and provides employment for large numbers of Jewish workpeople; in both cases the machine-workers have to meet a strong provincial competition; and in both the hand-workers, competing only for the best work, have a virtual monopoly of a shrinking trade. Similarity in the conditions of life naturally follows, and is shown very clearly by a comparison of the table which follows with that given on page 16.

Social Classification by Districts (Enumeration by Families).

Boot-makers.	East.		Central.		North.		West.		South.		All London	
	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%
Families living												
3 or more persons to a room	9814	27	2123	33	3581	15½	1180	13	1813	8½	18,511	19
2 & under 3 „ „	10,542	29	1939	30	5871	25½	1830	20	4606	21½	24,788	26
Crowded		56		63		41		33		30		45
1 and under 2 to a room	8164	22½	1425	22	5870	25½	2503	27½	5460	25	23,422	24
Less than 1 to a room More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant	7537	21	852	13½	6986	30	3270	35½	9234	42½	27,879	29
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	107	—	36	½	296	1½	151	1½	287	1½	877	1
All others with 2 or more servants	—	—	10	½	117	½	56	½	48	—	231	—
Servants	133	½	34	½	302	1½	173	2	264	1	906	1
Not crowded		44		37		59		67		70		55
Total population	36,297	100	6419	100	23,023	100	9163	100	21,712	100	96,614	100
Percentage in each district	37½		6½		24		9½		22½		100	

On the whole, the boot-makers appear to be worse off than the tailors in every part of London. In East London, 56 per cent. as compared to 52 per cent., live under crowded conditions; in Central London, 63 per cent. as compared to 55 per cent; in the North, 41 per cent. as compared to 33 per cent.; in the West, 33 per cent. as compared to 28 per cent.; and in the South, 30 per cent. as compared to 20 per cent.—or, for all London, 45 per cent. as compared to 39½ per cent. If we take aggravated cases of crowding as our test, there is no difference between

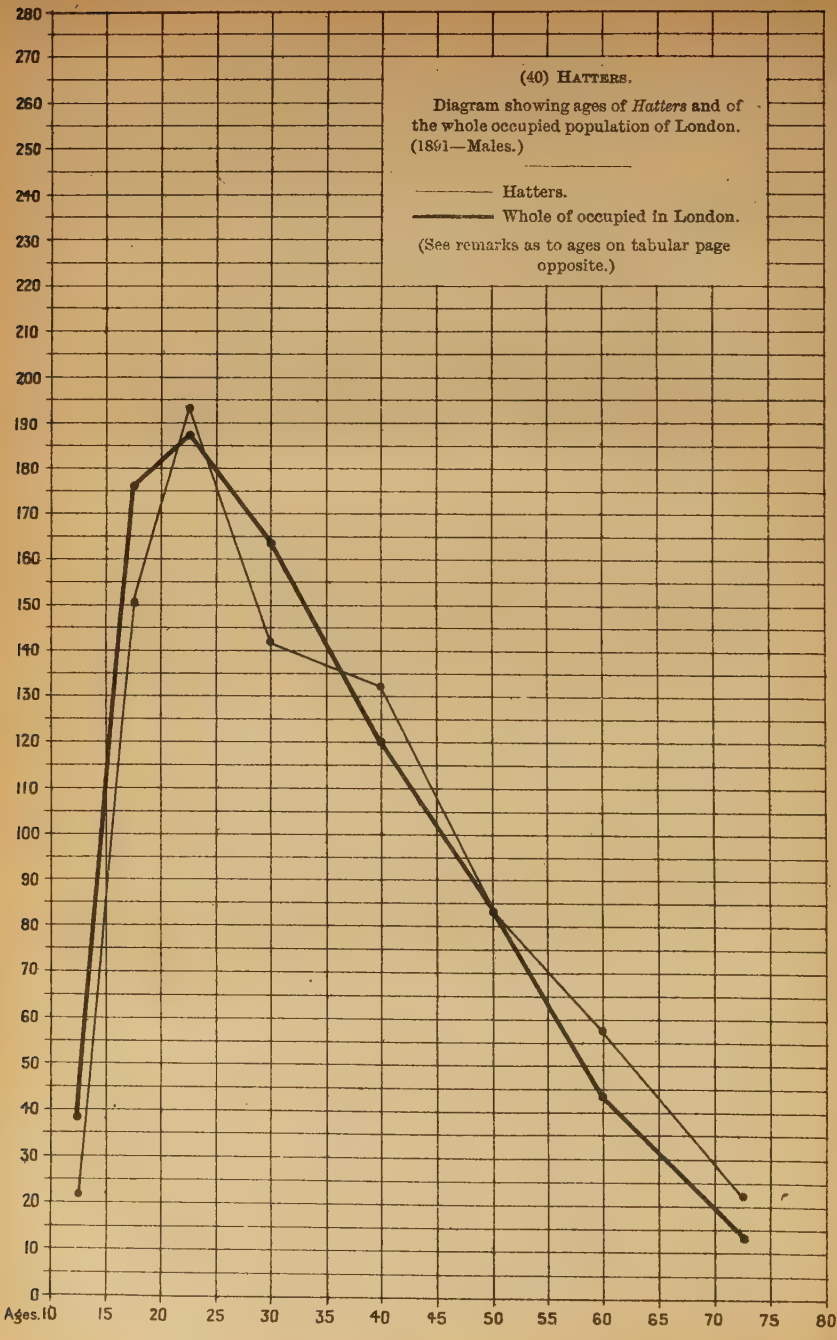
the two trades in East London, both show no less than 27 per cent. living three or more persons to a room, but elsewhere in London the homes of boot-makers are the more crowded in every district; so that, on the whole, 19 per cent. of boot-makers, as compared to 18 per cent. of tailors, live under these conditions. East London accounts for 36 per cent. of tailors and for 38 per cent. of boot-makers, and with both it is the Jewish element that is mainly responsible for the crowding, which is not in every case good evidence of poverty. In Central London, indeed, where the crowding is even greater, the poverty is probably less, as rents are excessively high.

The comparative degree of crowding in Jewish and English families can be shown by sub-dividing East London by parishes, the proportion of Jews being greatest in St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel, and decreasing as we pass towards Bethnal Green and Shoreditch. As will be seen from the following table, the degree of crowding follows the same order, and the differences are very marked indeed.

Proportion living three or more persons to a room.

	St. George's.	Whitechapel.	Bethnal Green.	Shoreditch.
Boot-makers.....	56 per cent.	31 per cent.	24 per cent.	25 per cent.
Tailors	33 „	40 „	17 „	14 „

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 88.)



CHAPTER II.

HATTERS. (*Section* 40.)

Persons represented.

Census Enumeration.

ns	Females.		Males.			Total.
	—19	20—	—19	20—54	55—	
Cap-	765	1184	419	2217	428	5013
hat & anf.	34	309	15	81	29	468
....	799	1493	434	2298	457	5481

the other clothing trades, the pro- of old men is excessive; but the dia- this case is peculiar. It shows cy from 25 to 35 followed by surplus to 45; exactly normal proportions to 55, and a surplus again from 55 to pwards. These singular irregulari- perhaps be due to the inclusion of kers, who are mostly young, with who are largely old—a new with a g industry.

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
689	685	2389	5481

Details of Occupations om the Census Dictionary).

hat body maker, finisher, shaper, rn sewer, varnisher, leather binder, mer. Felt-hat maker, skin cutter, r-maker, planker, blocker, presser, er, finisher, bander, lining cutter, a-hat maker, spring-maker, shaper, mer. Cloth and fancy cap-maker, -maker. Cork-hat, helmet-maker. r-hat maker, sewer, stiffener, blocker, ser, liner, wirer, finisher, dealer, -houseman.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	1928	Heads of Families, 2253.
	Females	325	
Birthplace	In London	57 % 1284	
	Out of London	43 % 969	
Industrial Status	Employer	13 % 303	
	Employed	78 % 1755	
	Neither	9 % 195	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	2253	2369	4971	234	9827
Average in family..	1	1·05	2·21	·10	4·36

Classification.

Numbers living in Families. — *For full details see Appendix (Pt. I.).*

		%
3 or more to a room	1230	12·6
2 & under 3 ,,	1759	17·9
1 & under 2 ,,	2406	24·4
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	3880	39·5
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	250	2·6
All others with 2 or more servants ..	68	·6
Servants	234	2·4
	9827	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	41 %	17 %	30 %
Not ,, ..	59 %	83 %	70 %

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 2137	Outer 148	2285
North	Inner 160	Outer 1085	1245
West ..	Inner 102	Outer 438	540
Central	Inner 660		660
South-East	Inner 797	Outer 1807	2604
South-West	Inner 1685	Outer 808	2493
			9827

Inner 5541, or 56 %
Outer 4286, or 44 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.				Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females.				
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.	Under 20.	Over 20.	Males.	Females	
r, hat & cap-mkr. (not straw)	299	21	419	2152	765	1100	194	63	5013
hat and bonnet-maker	24	13	15	76	34	260	10	36	468
	323	34	434	2228	799	1360	204	99	5481
Total.....	357		4821				303		

Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 14.

Making and selling of Hats and Caps.

This section includes those connected with the straw hat and bonnet trades, as well as those engaged in the manufacture and sale of silk and felt hats and of cloth caps.

Fifty or sixty years ago the beaver hatters regarded with some scorn the manufacture of the then new-fangled silk hat, but soon were obliged either to leave the trade or adopt what was accepted by the public as an improvement. To-day silk nap is in its turn giving way to felt; but with this change there comes in an altogether different method of manufacture, in which London takes comparatively little part. The silk hat may not share the fate of the old beaver, but the manufacture is a declining trade, and the prospects of the journeymen hatters—"gentlemen hatters," as Queen Elizabeth is said to have called them—are not bright. It is still, as in Queen Elizabeth's time, a rule that the men should wear a fashionable hat; but recent bad times have led some of them, painfully aware of the incongruity of a good hat and shabby clothes, to wear a "bowler."

Silk Hats.

The manufacture of silk hats is concentrated to a great extent in the neighbourhood of Blackfriars Road. No less than seventeen factories, or about half of the whole number in London, are in this district; four more are in Bermondsey, and the remainder are to be found scattered in various parts north of the Thames. There are about eight or nine hundred men and boys employed in these factories, and perhaps an equal number of women and girls.

The men are "body makers," "finishers," and "shapers." A few learn all three branches, but even then seldom work at more than one of them. The women are known as "crown sewers" and "trimmers."

The body-maker prepares the frame, or body, of the hat, which is formed of several thicknesses of calico stiffened

with shellac. The crown and brim are made of the same materials and stuck to the body, the shellac of the three parts uniting under the pressure of a hot iron. Sometimes, for the sake of lightness, a sheet of cork is used in place of some folds of calico and shellac. The pieces of silk plush with which the hat is to be covered are sewn together by the crown sewer with fine close stitches, and the hood thus formed goes with the body to the finisher, who affixes it so evenly and exactly, that when the nap is smoothed down the line of joining is completely hidden. The finisher also "blocks" the hat, using water and hot irons liberally to produce a perfect gloss. The "shaper" comes next, whose duty it is to curl the brim and give the final stamp of fashion to the whole. The trimmer binds the edge of the brim, inserts the lining, and attaches the band, all this being women's work. Then after being finally touched up, the hat is ready for the wearer.

The silk plush, excepting a very coarse quality, is imported, Metz being one of the chief centres of production. Formerly it was made in England, but our climate is said to be unfavourable to the work.

The trade is full of queer customs, chiefly connected with drinking, and very similar to those we have seen to prevail amongst the tailors of central London, and as in that case also, slowly dying out. Any trivial offence against shop law renders a man liable to be "caulked," and the offence must then be wiped out in beer before any more work can be done. One shilling and four pence for a gallon of beer is the usual fine; but as the other men contribute "joiners" of 2*d* each, the quantity is passably increased. A fine of four gallons is termed a "garnish," and when a man "pads" his first lot of work (and is to be regarded as initiated) he pays his "maiden garnish." If any man does not wish to drink when the liquor is passed to him, he will say, "Put it in the sieve," to which may follow the retort, "I insist this;" and then, if the shop be

"on the fly," more beer is certain. If the man challenged still refuses to drink, he has to pay the cost of another gallon, but by yielding he may still throw this burthen on his comrade who insisted. Minor slips of conduct are pounced upon by the words "snap that," and so on—like the phrases of some nursery game. These customs are abolished by the rules of the trade union; but, though all powerful on other matters, it has not succeeded in putting them down. A marked improvement in respect of drink is, however, admitted on all hands. If disputes arise more serious than beer can terminate, a "garret" is called, that is, a meeting of the shop, and if the decision of the garret is challenged, the member "knocked off" may "dozen" his opponent. A "dozen" consists of six members, one from each of six other shops,* and from their decision the only appeal is to the district.

There would be no room for such liberties were it not that all the work is done by piece. Day-work is, in fact, forbidden by the union.

The hatters' union, of which full particulars will be given later, is extraordinarily strong and imperious in its action. Up to last year (1894) it included practically all the silk hatters of London, and still includes all except those employed by one large firm—whose shop has been freed as the result of an unsuccessful strike. The society has an elaborate organization to prevent any private communication between employer and workman. A man seeking employment must obtain an "Asking ticket," and, taking this to the shop he has selected, must send it in by one of the men already employed, whose turn it is to undertake this duty. In this way it is ascertained from the employer or his foreman whether a man is wanted. If a man himself asks for a job he is heavily fined. Should a workman wish to speak to the employer, or foreman, respecting his work,

* Originally one man was drawn from each of twelve shops, hence the name "dozen."

another man accompanies him. In these ways it is intended that no opportunity should be afforded for private bargaining or "creeping" as it is termed. Uniform piece rates are maintained. Every year the union officials receive samples of the silk used, and the price fixed depends on the fineness of the make, which is tested under a magnifying glass. There is a standing "Price Committee" to deal with infringements of the scale.

The strike already referred to considerably weakened the prestige of the society. Hitherto contests, although they might result in bringing in non-union labour, ended by the absorption of the new men in the union, and this may be so again, but the declining condition of the trade makes it questionable. Meanwhile the society is making strenuous efforts to regain the lost ground. The subscription, always high, has been increased by a levy based upon the amount of earnings, with the result that, while few pay less than 3*s* or 4*s* a week, some are called upon to pay as much as 7*s*, or even in exceptional cases, 10*s* a week. The rate is 2*s* 3*d* per week, and 1*d* in the shilling additional for all earned above 25*s*, so that a man who pays 7*s* must be earning £4. 2*s*.

As is always the case with piece-work, the earnings vary greatly according to the season, and it is difficult to determine what is an average wage. When busy, few body makers would earn less than 50*s*, while many would receive over 60*s* a week. For finishers the upper limit would be higher, and the average would be nearer 60*s*; while the shapers, who constitute the smallest but best paid branch of the trade, would seldom earn less than 70*s*, and £5 is not an unusual amount for them to make. These are the rates of the busy season. In the slack time the figures are very different. Body makers would seldom exceed 40*s*, and perhaps 30*s* would more nearly represent the earnings of those who retain their employment. Finishers would seldom fall so low as 30*s*, and still less shapers—but all

would show a proportionate reduction. The degree of difference between busy and slack weeks depends greatly on the practice of the shop.

The nominal hours of work are from 9 A.M. to 8 P.M. up to July (the first half of the year being the busier), and 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. for the remainder of the twelve months. Union rules limit the time to eleven hours for the one, and nine hours for the other period. A few shops open at 8 o'clock, but the men rarely begin work before 9.30, and when slack will arrive still later and leave off at 4 or 4.30. Some shops, in place of shortening each day, are closed entirely every Monday, and as little is done on Saturday, the working week is practically reduced to four days. The women work about the same nominal hours as the men (subject always to the Factory Act). Saturday, however, is usually a busy day with them, finishing up. They are, if anything, more lax than the men in beginning work in the morning.

There are no regular meal times; piece-work allowing every man liberty to eat (or go without) his meals when and how he pleases. The workers suit their own convenience. The usual practice, as might be supposed, is to dine between 12 and 2, and to take tea about 4 in the afternoon. When busy, many take their food whilst working, and all "waste" as little time as possible over their meals. In all the shops there are lads known as "Johnny boys," to whom the hatters give 6*d* or 1*s* a week to take the work into the warehouse, fetch beer, or make tea, so that the men need not stop work.* Separate workrooms and accommodation for cooking their meals is usually provided for the women; and with them more regular hours prevail.

Training.—Hatting is one of the few trades in which the system of apprenticeship has been fully maintained. The silk hatters restrict the number of apprentices to two for the first ten journeymen, and one for each additional ten men

* A "Johnny" is hatter's slang for a drink. "Will you have a 'Johnny'?" is the hatter's invitation to a social glass.

in the shop. For the first three months the lad is on trial, during the next six months he receives 10*s* a week, and after that is paid according to the piece-work scale, receiving half the money earned for four and a half years, and two-thirds for the remainder of the seven years. Other indentures show 12*s* a week for the first, 14*s* for the second, and two-thirds of the earnings for the remaining five years. "Whimsey" is the trade term for the first stages of instruction; thus a lad is said to be under "whimsey" with the workman whose duty it is to instruct him. The man receives £2 or £3 for his trouble, and the assistance of the lad in his work, and the period is nominally five months. It is the ambition of a clever lad to become a shaper. Girls, in order to learn trimming, pay a premium of 21*s*, which is given to the woman who undertakes the teaching. The girl works for three months with her instructor, who, in addition to the premium, retains the pay for any work done. At the end of that time the learner takes her place with other piece-workers. It is not every woman who is willing to teach on these terms.

Several of the London factories have one or more retail shops, but the men engaged in the sale of hats (although they, too, may perhaps call themselves hatters), are distinct from those who make them. Salesmen enter the shops as boys, and learn to block and iron a hat, and when promoted to the counter, should be able to take the shape of a customer's head if necessary. The hours of work in West End shops are from 9 to 7; in other localities rather longer, especially on Saturday. The remuneration is by salary, with a commission in some cases on the amount of the sales. In the larger shops, one or two journeymen are employed to do the blocking and ironing. These men form a connecting link with the factory, and can be referred to if technical questions arise. They take a middle place between that of artisan and that of shop assistant, combining to some extent the advantages of both.

Felt Hatting.

Felt hatting is of minor importance in London, and does not provide employment for many men, the chief seat of the manufacture being at Denton in Lancashire and Stockport in Cheshire. The London trade was formerly more extensive, but the introduction of machinery and consequent cheapening of the product, has been disastrous to those engaged in it. London cannot compete with the Provinces in price, but must base its claims on quality. All the hats so extensively advertised at 3*s* 6*d* and 3*s* 9*d*, and by a few enterprising men as "Our splendid 2*s* 6*d* hat," are manufactured in the Provinces. With one exception, the London firms engaged in the trade confine their operations to finishing and trimming. Hat bodies are received from the country factories and prepared for the London market, but the number treated in this way is small compared with those sent direct to the hatter's shop finished ready for use.

The process of making felt hats is long and complicated, the material passing through many hands before it reaches the finished state. The rabbit fur, which is the raw material of these hats, is cleaned, sorted, and mixed by machinery tended by girls, who work under a foreman. When prepared, it forms a greyish mass of short fur fibres. This is taken to a forming machine, the essential feature of which is a large revolving hollow cone of perforated metal. A girl carefully weighs the quantity of fur needed for a single hat, and places it in the machine, where a current of air from a fan blows the particles against the cone, upon which they form a thin film. After this film has been wetted by a spray of hot water, it is removed from the cone and "hardened." The films then go to the felters or plankers. These men stand around a cauldron of hot water. Sloping down to the water's edge is the "plank" upon which the men work—eight at each caul-

dron.* They dip the delicate film of fur in the water, rub, roll, and otherwise manipulate it for about an hour and a half, by which time it has been reduced in size to about that of an ordinary hat, and has thickened into a homogeneous cone of felt.† This is blocked or forced into the required shape upon a wooden block. It is then dyed and "proofed," the latter process differing for soft and hard felt. Soft felts receive a slight coating of shellac dissolved in spirit, which is forced into the substance of the hat by steam pressure. For hard felts rosin and various gums are also used, and the quantity applied is much greater. The finisher removes the rough ends of fur with sandpaper, and gives the hat a glossy appearance by rubbing with a fustian pad. The shaper curls the brim, and women insert the linings and sew on the band; these operations being like those in silk hatting, and, except for ladies' felt hats, done by the same workpeople.

Hours and Earnings.—The working day is nine hours, but full weeks are only made when exceptionally busy. Finishers working in silk-hat shops conform to the silk hatters' hours. With the exception of dyers and proofers felt hatters are all engaged on piece-work. Earnings vary greatly, according to the season, and during the past two years the trade has been slack, so that earnings have dwindled. Finishers are the most highly paid, and earn 45*s* a week, working either on men's or ladies' hats. Formers and plankers earn about 40*s*, and blockers about 35*s*. These rates only apply to the busy season, at other times earnings are one-third lower, and often less than this. Finishers suffer most in the slack season, as manufacturers prefer to stock hats unfinished,

* This plank and cauldron is the arrangement formerly used in making the beaver hats, and although only now used in felt hatting, hatters always speak of their bench as the "plank," and a man starting work "returns to the plank."

† In the process of felting, natural forces or tendencies co-operate with us in a curious way, the small hairs tending to interlace more and more closely with each other if shaken and knocked together.

and only finish them as required. Trimmers of felt hats cannot be distinguished from those engaged in the silk-hat trade, both kinds of hats being trimmed in the same work-rooms. The prices paid for trimming felt hats are lower than for silk, the highest rates being 3*s* 6*d* and 4*s* a dozen.

Ladies' felt hats form a distinct branch, having its centre in the neighbourhood of Barbican and Jewin Street. The hats are made, dyed, and rough blocked in the Provinces and finished in London. About sixty or seventy men are employed in this branch, and get from sixteen to twenty-six weeks' work in the twelve months, the trade being concentrated in the last six months of the year. It is busiest in September and October. Most of the firms concerned are also engaged in the straw-plait hat and bonnet trade during the first half of the year. At the end of the felt-hat season some of the men have to seek employment elsewhere, whilst those who can do so turn to the straw-hat trade, probably remaining with the same employer.

Straw Hats.

The men's and ladies' straw-hat trades are quite distinct. Men's straw hats are made in large quantities to exact sizes, a worker being often occupied on one size for weeks together. With the exception of some trimming, the work is not done in London, St. Albans being the chief centre for this, as Luton is for the ladies' straw-hat trade. The latter employs some three or four hundred persons in London during the season; fifteen or sixteen firms having London workshops. Some of these are connected with provincial factories, the small London establishments being maintained to execute special or pressing orders.

Ladies' straw hats are made in a great variety of shapes and sizes, and consequently in smaller quantities of any particular sort. A few men are employed as blockers and stiffeners, but the bulk of the employees are women, known

as machinists, handsewers and trimmers. The machinists sew the plait* forming the hat, frequently testing the exactness of their work by comparison with the wooden block which is their guide as to size and shape. The hat then passes to the men, who saturate it with a gummy solution to give the needed stiffness, and then place it on the block and iron it into the shape it is intended to assume. When dry, the trimmers line the hats with paper, and affix size tickets to those that are sold as untrimmed; in others they bind the brim, put on bands and bows according to the kind of hat, their work in this direction trenching upon the domain of the milliner. The handsewers make hats of fancy plaits, which cannot be sewn by machinery.

By a special clause of the Factory Act, the women may work from 9 to 9, with the usual intervals for meals. It is only in the height of the season that full time is made, and then the legal amount of overtime is worked, and, it is said, often exceeded. Piece-work is general, and when busy (February to May), the earnings of the machinists are exceptional, many earning over 20*s* a week and even 30*s* and 35*s*, whilst few would receive less than 12*s* a week. Trimmers' earnings would not reach such a high point, but are steadier, for as the straw-hat season passes, the felts take their place, and these also require trimming. Earnings vary from 25*s* or more when busy, descending to under 10*s* in the winter. During the slack season (July to December), a large and increasing proportion of the straw-hat manufacturers engage in the ladies' felt-hat trade, which then becomes busy, and thus the effects of the great seasonal irregularities in these occupations are lessened, most of the men and the trimmers passing from one branch

* Most of the straw-plait is imported. The common kinds come from China and Japan, and the best from Italy and Switzerland. The English straw-plait industry has declined owing to the competition of the cheap foreign plait. Attempts are being made to revive it by providing technical instruction for the workers.

to the other, as the season changes. The machinists, however, lose much time and many are unemployed, the only work available for them being a certain quantity of black straw hats and bonnets, which are always in demand.

Cap-making.

Measured by the number of persons employed, cap-making is almost as important as silk hatting, although, tested by any other standard, such as amount of wages paid, or capital invested, it is of minor consequence. Several of the London hat manufacturers make caps, but only the better class of goods, and the supply from this source is comparatively small. Caps, whether for bicycling, golf or travelling, are chiefly made in the Jewish workshops of East London, although these feel keenly the competition of Manchester, where the factory system is more developed than in the East End. Even caps bearing the names of well-known hatters are made in Whitechapel. They may form part of a large order for the same kind of cap, the only difference from the cap-maker's point of view being that the addition of the vendor's name increases the cost of printing the "tip" (as the circular piece of lining is called) by a penny a dozen. The master cap-maker receives his orders from the wholesale houses at a fixed price per dozen. He buys the cloth and other materials, engages his staff, and usually works longer hours and harder than any of them, his remuneration being the margin between the sum for which he sells the caps and the cost of material and wages. There are a few large and fully organized factories, but a shop employing, when busy, not more than twenty persons is the prevailing type.

The workers are known as cutters, machinists, blockers, and needle-hands, the latter being women, as are some of the machinists also.

The cutter cuts the cloth or other material for the caps and linings; the machinist sews the segments together to

form the cap, and stitches the linings and any other parts of the work for which the machine can be used, needle-hands doing the remainder, sewing on buttons, &c., the amount of work varying with the class of cap; the blocker presses the seams with an iron, similar to that used by tailors, and finally "blocks off," or irons the cap upon a wooden block, thus causing it to assume and retain the desired shape.

Hours and Earnings.—Cap-makers can only expect work for about eight months in the year, unless when trade is slack the employer makes for stock, which is only done in a few instances. Hours are from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M., with the usual intervals for meals. The work is practically all on piece, excepting occasionally the cutting. The blocker, who is the most highly paid, may earn 30*s* to 40*s*, and sometimes will employ another man to assist him. Machinists (men) earn usually from 25*s* to 13*s*, but our returns show some as low as 8*s* in the slack weeks. Female machinists seldom receive more than 16*s*, the customary rate being about 12*s* a week. Needle-hands earn from 9*s* to 14*s* when busy, and 4*s* to 8*s* in slack weeks.

In cap-making, as in other Jewish industries, no regular system of training exists. Besides the necessary skilled workers, men and women are employed with regard rather to the cheap rate at which they will work than to the ability they bring to their task, the extreme sub-division of work providing a place for anyone who can use a needle at all. Gradually an acquaintance with one or another part of the work is obtained, and the learner perhaps seeks a fresh engagement in order to specialize in whatever capacity affords the best chance of increased wages.

Seasons.—The influence of the seasons has a marked effect upon employment in the hat and cap-making industries, the demand varying regularly with the changes of the year; and so sensitive are they to this influence, that

a short period of fine or dull weather acts almost as quickly on them as on a barometer. The first half of the year is always the busier. The preparation for the spring demand commences in January, and a gradual increase of business follows, culminating in March or April, then declining until June or July, the fall being more rapid after Whitsuntide. In silk and felt hatting the pressure in March is extreme, and thus the hatter comes to share the reputation of the hare at that season. So far as London is concerned, the pressure of work is not likely to cause insanity in the future, whatever it may have done in the past. Several manufacturers complain that they are not so busy as they ought to be, whilst a number of men are now (May, 1895) unemployed. Some firms make for stock in the winter, and this may partially account for the comparative dulness, noticeable in recent years, especially in silk hatting, but a more potent factor is the decline of the provincial demand. In cap-making, the season commences later and continues until August.

Taking the trade as a whole, it is doubtful whether the workers obtain more than eight months' employment in the year. The fortune of the individual depends largely on the custom of the shop in which he is employed. In some hatteries the workpeople are retained during the slack months, and whatever work is offering is divided betwixt them; in others, known as "cuckoo" shops, the ranks are thinned as soon as the rush is over, the men returning when, with the advent of spring, trade revives.

Trades Unions.

The trade organizations connected with this group of industries are as follows :—

Numbers in the London Trade (Census 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.		Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.		In each Society.	In each Division.	
5013	2152	Journeymen Hatters' Fair Trade Union. London District (1759).	780	1180	Gives Unemployed, Emergency, Sick, Death and Superannuation benefits.
		Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Felt Hatters. London Branch (1872).	80		Gives Unemployed, "Victimised," Sick and Death benefits. Sick optional.
		Cap-makers' Union.	320*		Dispute benefit only.
468	76	*Straw hat and Bonnet-makers.*	—	—	A few of these men are included in the Felt Hatters' Society.
5481	2228	* Includes some women.	—	1180	

Thus of 2228 employed adult males, about 1150, or over 50 per cent., are organized. This does not indicate the real strength of the trade organization, which, comparatively feeble in other branches, has almost despotic power in the silk-hatting industry. The Journeymen Hatters' Fair Trade Union, probably the oldest trade society in England, is a national union, and is divided into "districts." The London district includes, as already explained, all the London silk hatters except those employed by one firm. The terms used and the customs of the society as fixed in the rules, bear witness to its age. The office is known as the "Turnhouse," and travelling benefit is called a "turn." The amount given was originally fixed at the rate of 1*s* 4*d* a day, and the amount to be paid a man going from any one district to another

was embodied in a list, which is still recognized. A man going from London to Bristol receives 8*s*; it was a six days' journey. "That no member be allowed to find his own candles or other light, or pay walking money or shop-room," still remains one of the rules; a curious relic of the days when it was customary for men to provide their own light, or have the cost of that and other items deducted from their earnings by their employers.

The Society of Journeymen Felt Hatters is really a country society, its London branch being small. In conjunction with the Trimmers' Society it issues a trade union label the size of a postage stamp. This is placed in felt hats made in factories where the workpeople are trade unionists, and the recognized rate of wages and hours prevail. The United Cap-makers' Union is an East End Jewish organization comprising men and women engaged in the trade.

There is a Master Hatters' Association. It does not include the whole of the employers, but conducts all negotiations with the men's society. The employing cap-makers are now forming a society on similar lines to that which represents the Jewish master tailors.

Wages Statistics.

In these trades 4821 persons are employed, of whom 2228 are adult males. Respecting these, wages returns have been received from fifteen firms, employing on an average 497 persons, of whom 208 are adult males:—

Silk and felt hatters	6	=15 Firms employing
Cap-makers	7	208 men
Straw hatters	2	263 women
		26 boys.
		497

The earnings of the men in an ordinary week are as follows :—

Below 20*s*.....	17, or	8 per cent.	}	
20*s* and under 25*s*	14 ,,	6½ ,,	}	Under 30*s*, 32½ per cent.
25*s* ,, 30*s*	37 ,,	18 ,,	}	
30*s* ,, 35*s*	20 ,,	9½ ,,	}	
35*s* ,, 40*s*	31 ,,	15 ,,	}	
40*s* ,, 45*s*	27 ,,	13 ,,	}	30*s* and over, 67½ per cent.
45*s* ,, 55*s*	21 ,,	10 ,,	}	
55*s* and upwards...	41 ,,	20 ,,	}	
	208 ,,	100 ,,		

The large proportion of the men earning not less than 30*s* a week is very noticeable, especially as most of the men considerably exceed that amount. These are silk hatters and a few felt finishers. The results are too favourable as a whole, and need to be taken in connection with the seasonal variations. Five firms, four of whom were silk hatters, made returns showing the difference between busy and slack weeks, which (for the men) is as stated below. It appears that a considerable proportion fall entirely out of work, while those who still have work earn less :—

Men.	Busy Week.		Slack Week.	
Below 20*s* ...	6 or 4½ per cent.	}	15 or 13 per cent.	}
20*s* and under 25*s*	5 ,, 3½ ,,	} Under 30*s*	4 ,, 3½ ,,	} Under 30*s*
25*s* ,, 30*s*	12 ,, 8½ ,,	} 16½ °/₀	20 ,, 18 ,,	} 34½ °/₀
30*s* ,, 35*s*	8 ,, 6 ,,	}	19 ,, 17 ,,	}
35*s* ,, 40*s*	7 ,, 5 ,,	} 30*s* & over	14 ,, 12½ ,,	} 30*s* & over
40*s* ,, 45*s*	15 ,, 11 ,,	} 83½ °/₀	15 ,, 13 ,,	} 65½ °/₀
45*s* ,, 55*s*	30 ,, 22 ,,	}	10 ,, 9 ,,	}
55*s* and upwards	54 ,, 39½ ,,	}	16 ,, 14 ,,	}
	137 ,, 100 ,,		113 ,, 100 ,,	

The census shows that 2159 women and girls were

employed in these trades, and particulars of the earnings of 263 are given below.

5*s* and under	8, or 3	per cent.		
6*s* ,, 7*s*	24 ,, 9	,,	Under 12*s*, 43½ per cent.	
8*s* ,, 9*s*	25 ,, 13	,,		
10*s* ,, 11*s*	48 ,, 18½	,,		
12*s* ,, 13*s*	46 ,, 17½	,,	12*s* and over, 56½ per cent.	
14*s* ,, 15*s*	27 ,, 10	,,		
16*s* and under 20*s*	38 ,, 14½	,,		
20*s* and over	37 ,, 14½	,,		
	263 ,, 100	,,		

Here, again, owing to the seasonal nature of these trades, the figures are much too high for a fair average. Many of those earning the higher amounts are engaged in the straw-hat manufacture, a strictly seasonal industry. Comparing the five returns which give busy and slack weeks the results are as under :—

Women and Girls.	Busy Week.		Slack Week.	
5*s* and under	1 or 1 per cnt.		8 or 7½ p. cnt.	
6*s* ,, 7*s*	6 ,, 5 ,,	Under 12*s* 33½ °/₀	7 ,, 6½ ,,	Under 12*s* 63½ °/₀
8*s* ,, 9*s*	12 ,, 10 ,,		22 ,, 21 ,,	
10*s* ,, 11*s*	21 ,, 17½ ,,		30 ,, 28½ ,,	
12*s* ,, 13*s*	23 ,, 19 ,,	12*s* & over 66½ °/₀	18 ,, 17 ,,	12*s* & over 36½ °/₀
14*s* ,, 15*s*	16 ,, 13 ,,		3 ,, 3 ,,	
16*s* and under 20*s*	24 ,, 19½ ,,		12 ,, 11½ ,,	
20*s* and over.....	18 ,, 15 ,,		5 ,, 5 ,,	
	121 ,, 100 ,,		105 ,, 100 ,,	

Here a reduction of nearly 13 per cent. in numbers is accompanied by a much greater reduction of earnings. These figures apply only to the silk-hat trade, but the proportionate difference would be as great in cap-making, where the earnings would be lower both in slack and busy times.

As to the boys' earnings, our information is meagre. The particulars we have range from 5*s* to 15*s* a week, and most

of these lads are engaged in cap-making shops. The boys (other than apprentices) employed in the hatters' shops, being paid by the men, do not appear in the employers' wages books.

Social Condition.

The localisation of the hat and cap trade is reflected in the districts and conditions under which the people live, and the enumeration of families enables us to compare these districts. The silk-hatters' homes are chiefly south of the Thames, with a slight concentration in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. The cap-makers are almost entirely found in the East, whilst the dealers are resident in all parts. Taking the Southern districts as approximately representing the condition of the hatters, and the East End that of the cap-makers, the North and West districts may also represent the dealers, the figures being as under:—

Social Classification by Districts (Enumeration by Families).

Families living	East.		North and West.		South-East and South-West.		Total.	
	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%	Persons.	%
4 or more persons to a room ..	254	11	47	3	133	2½	434	4½
3 and under 4 ,, ,,	300	13 } 48	89	5 } 22	232	4½ } 23	621	7 } 29
2 ,, 3 ,, ,,	542	24	254	14	807	16	1603	17½
1 ,, 2 ,, ,,	476	21	414	23	1388	27	2278	25
Less than 1 ,, ,,	61	3	70	4	198	4	329	3½
Occupying more than 4 rooms	461	20	563	32	1829	36	2853	31
4 or more persons to a servant	111	5	144	8	277	5½	532	6
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	43	2 } 52	104	6 } 78	99	2 } 77	246	2½ } 71
All others with 2 or more servants	7	—	19	1	26	½	52	½
Servants	31	1	80	4	108	2	219	2½
TOTAL	2286	100	1784	100	5097	100	9167	100

Those living in the Central district are omitted from this comparison, as the conditions are abnormal. The figures seem to confirm the impression received in the course of the investigation that the cap-makers are the poorest part of the trade, the hatters occupying a position not far removed from that of the dealers.

Dress.—Hatters' work-rooms are always hot: the large stoves used for heating the irons ensure this. The workmen discard coat, and most of them waistcoat, collar and tie, simply wearing a woollen shirt, like a boating man's sweater, and perhaps an apron. All keep shop slippers, and some body-makers, whose work is dirty, keep old clothes for shop use. Whilst the hatter is not careful as to his attire in the shop, he is more particular outside. It is, as already said, one of the unwritten rules of the trade that the men should wear silk hats.* The cap-makers for their part usually wear cloth caps, but here economy is evidently the motive, as on Saturday, those who can afford it, wear a felt or silk hat.

* One of the most noticeable feature of the Reform Demonstration of 1884 in Hyde Park was the hatters' contingent, some five-hundred strong, with their glossy silk hats.

CHAPTER III.

MILLINERS, DRESS AND SHIRT-MAKERS.

DRESS-MAKERS AND MILLINERS. (*Section* 41.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Division, 891.	Females.		Males.		Total.
	—19	20—	—19	20—	
akers and ers	22,513	58,823	350	1762	83,448

of the occupations included here are f young women. Of the females ated 48½ per cent. are under 25 years The men are principally found in and corset or stay-making. In the anches they would only appear as rs. The proportion of male employers greater (1 to 4) than that obtaining the women (1 to 17).

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		1479	Heads of Families, 15,840
	Females		14,361	
Birthplace	In London	49 %	7635	
	Out of London..	51 %	8205	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	14 %	2272	
	Employed.....	49 %	7693	
	Neither	37 %	5875	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	15,840	15,612	10,763	1489	43,704
Average in family..	1	·99	·68	·09	2·76

DISTRIBUTION.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
27.003	21,854	25,126	83,448

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS OM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(not straw) maker, bonnet-shape er, blocker. Cap-milliner, widow's- naker. Modiste, costumier, costume l, finisher, cutter, maker. Mantle- er, dress-improver maker. Corset, , maker, rivetter, fitter, dealer, le maker. Crinoline, crinolette er. stay-boner, fanner, fitter, erist, machinist, presser, stay-lace er. Kilter, gofferer, infant's-robe er, hood-maker, bassinette trimmer.

CLASSIFICATION. DISTRIBUTION.
For full details see Appendix (Pt. I.).

Numbers living in Families.		%			
3 or more to a room	3555	8·1	East ..	Inner 4163, Outer 862	5025
2 & under 3 ,,	7082	16·2			
1 & under 2 ,,	14,913	34·2	North	Inner 4986, Outer 10061	15047
Less than 1 ,,					
More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	14,300	32·7	West ..	Inner 2014, Outer 7319	9333
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	1676	3·9	Central	Inner 2462	2462
All others with 2 or more servants....	689	1·5	South-East	Inner 864, Outer 4325	5189
Servants.....	1489	3·4	South-West	Inner 2910, Outer 3738	6648
	43,704	100			43,704

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	33 %	19 %	24 %
Not ,, ..	67 %	81 %	76 %

Inner 17,399, or 40 %
Outer 26,305, or 60 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males of all ages.	Females.				
	Males	Females		Under 20.	Over 20.	Males.	Females	
kers and milliners	535	4745	1418	22,513	35,737	159	18,341	83,448
TOTAL.....	5280		59,668			18,500		

Proportion of Employers to Employed–1 to 11.

Milliners and Dress-makers.

Milliners formerly lived entirely on the employers' premises and were engaged on the same terms as shop assistants. This custom has gradually broken down. The space occupied becomes valuable, and it seems to have been found that girls who resided near, or who could afford to travel to and from their work, were willing to live at home without asking any equivalent in money for the lodging and meals provided at the shop on the former plan. Some are still paid a salary with board and lodging, but more have a weekly wage with dinner and tea, or tea only; and in some cases no meals at all are provided except for the residents. The most skilled workers, the "heads of tables," and the first and second hands, generally live on the premises, as do also any apprentices who have paid a premium. The condition and social standing of resident milliners are similar to those of shop assistants, and sometimes they still act in both capacities, although this is contrary to the law. The weekly employees are generally regarded as workroom hands, and as such of lower social grade, though still much above that of the factory girls.

The hours of work are regulated by the Factory Acts, a printed abstract of which should be exhibited in every workshop. The law is accepted without question, as is "strikingly illustrated by a girl who, speaking very warmly in favour of her employers, said that it was quite true they worked overtime in the season, but they were compelled to do so by the Factory Act."* The hours are thus 8 to 8, with one and a half hours for meals, Saturday closing 4 P.M. at latest. The object of the rule that not less than one hour of the meal time should fall before 3 P.M. is in effect evaded by calling 8 to 8.30 the time for breakfast. The girls breakfast earlier, at home, and do not arrive till 8.30, and thus have a very

* Miss Collet's report to the Royal Commission on Labour.

long stretch of work broken only by half an hour's interval for dinner. It, however, suits everyone better to begin at 8.30 rather than 8. In this, as in other occupations, it is difficult to get the women to come early.

In the slack season full time is never worked. Many of the ordinary hands are dismissed, and others have to take a long holiday. Those who are retained will probably lose one or more days a week. When busy—March to July—work is continued as long as the law permits, *i.e.* two hours' overtime on forty-eight days. Milliners say this is often exceeded; they allege that they are kept working two to four nights a week, notice for one night only being forwarded to the factory inspector. Sometimes the girls will be sent to a private room to finish their work. On the other hand, we are told that in some West End houses the full factory hours are seldom worked, although here, as elsewhere, the employees may be kept late to finish up.

Resident milliners are paid a salary ranging from £20 to £80 a year. The weekly employees, after serving an apprenticeship of two years, receive 5*s* or 6*s* a week. Ordinary workers rise to 12*s* and 16*s*; whilst second and first hands earn 16*s* to 20*s* a week. These rates are supplemented by dinner and tea, or tea only, according to the custom of the firm.

Dress-makers.—Social distinctions similar to those among milliners exist between resident and non-resident dress-makers. The policy of restricting the number of indoor employees and replacing them by girls living at home began earlier, and has been carried further than with milliners, so that now nearly all dress-makers live out. It is only usual to provide accommodation for the most highly skilled workers. These are the fitters who are responsible for the work. Each fitter will have under her a number of bodice or skirt hands, as the ordinary working dress-makers are termed, the former being the more skilled.

In the West End, dress-making is carried on in regular workrooms with a fitter in charge of each room, but elsewhere the establishments are of a domestic character, and in poor streets or suburban districts the work-room, show-room and living room may all be in one. To start a small dress-making business requires little capital. Such a business is often commenced by women who have been employed in West End shops, but who for domestic reasons prefer to work at home. Aided by an apprentice, and, if necessary, by a few other girls, the dress-maker cuts and puts together her clients' materials.

A large number of apprentices are employed, especially in the large workrooms. If living indoors, they pay a substantial premium, and beyond board and lodging receive nothing for two or three years. If non-resident, the learner will perhaps give one year, and during the second year receive 1*s* 6*d* or 2*s* 6*d* a week, rising gradually to the full amount. Many, however, receive their first training in the suburban domestic establishments, and at the end of two or three years seek employment at the West End, where situations can usually be obtained at the beginning of the season.

The busy season is from April to June, with a second period of activity about October. The legal hours are the same as for milliners, and there are similar difficulties and evasions of the law as to overtime and the same customs as to meals.

Fitters living on the premises earn £40 to £100 per annum besides board and lodging, and if non-resident somewhat more. The women of exceptional skill who may receive £200 or £300 per annum would most likely live elsewhere. For experienced bodice hands the wages range from 16*s* to 20*s* a week. Ordinary hands are paid from 12*s* to 15*s*, and assistants from 8*s* to 10*s*. Skirt hands range from 8*s* to 18*s*. These rates apply to the busy season. When work is slack fully one-third of the workers will be dismissed and

others will have to take from one to three days' holiday a week, with corresponding reduction in pay. By some firms no payment is made for overtime, others pay "if asked." With many there is no recognized scale. In some cases it is complained that in the same week the girls may lose pay by having no work one day and yet receive nothing for extra hours worked before or after. The greatest fluctuations in employment occur among the fashionable dress-makers. There is always a demand for the more ordinary class of dress, and some women prefer the smaller but less variable earnings to be obtained from local employers to the uncertain although larger sums that may be earned in a West End workroom. Irregularity of earnings is not the only drawback to the season trade. When busy the rooms are crowded to their utmost capacity, and the prolonged hours involve the use of artificial light. The crowding and heat, combined often with an absence of ventilation, make the occupation very unhealthy.

Mantle making, unlike most of the trades included in this section, employs a number of men. It is a large industry, in which London has competitors in Leeds and Manchester and also in Germany. The best class of work is made by West End tailors, who would return themselves as such—not as mantle makers. A cheaper article is produced by Jewish workers in East and North London. Men and women are employed and the work is sub-divided as in the Jewish tailors' workshops. There are baisters, machinists, pressers, and so on, and the connection with tailoring is so close that men pass from one occupation to the other. A lighter class of work is done by women only, and it is no doubt these, with a proportion of those engaged in the Jewish branch of the trade, who return themselves as mantle makers. Two methods of employment obtain: in some cases the warehousemen have their own workshops and engage their own hands; in

other instances the work is given to out-workers, either Jews or women, who employ others in a workroom at home. Prices are low and reckoned per mantle, and piece-work prevails throughout. In West End shops the hours and conditions are much the same as those of dress-makers.

Corset and Stay-making also furnish employment for a number of men and boys. They cut, shape, and japan the steel busks, and cut the materials. The men earn from 20*s* to 30*s* a week with a few at higher rates. An account of the manufacture and the earnings of the women, who form a large proportion of the workers, will be found in the chapter on Women's Work in East London (Vol. IV., p. 270).

Other occupations enumerated on the first page of this chapter as included in this section are of minor importance, either not employing many persons or being merely subdivisions of trades already mentioned.

SHIRT-MAKERS AND SEAMSTRESSES. (*Section* 42.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

is Division, 1891.	Females.		Males.		Total.
	—19	20—	—19	20—	
stresses, t - makers, ...	2598	14,805	185	899	18,487

e age distribution of males is normal. eculiarities in the age distribution of males is referred to in the text.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		724	Heads of Families, 7249.
	Females		6525	
Birthplace	In London	56 %	4026	
	Out of London..	44 %	3223	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	3 %	243	
	Employed.....	70 %	5048	
	Neither	27 %	1958	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	7249	5393	4527	157	17,326
Average in family..	·1	·74	·63	·02	2·39

Distribution.

	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
	4178	3588	6920	18,487

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part I.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	2155	12·4
2 & under 3 ,,	4026	23·2
1 & under 2 ,,	7373	42·6
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	3412	19·7
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	142	·8
All others with 2 or more servants ..	61	·4
Servants	157	·9
	17,326	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	42 %	30 %	36 %
Not ,, ..	58 %	70 %	64 %

Distribution.

East..	Inner 2562	Outer 617	3179
North	Inner 1065	Outer 2899	3964
West	Inner 698	Outer 1505	2203
Central	Inner 1378		1378
South-East	Inner 868	Outer 2696	3564
South-West	Inner 1649	Outer 1389	3038
			17,326

Inner 8220, or 47 %
Outer 9106, or 53 %

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

dewoman, sewing machinist, button-ler, plain worker, tacker, stitcher; shirt-utter, tacker, turner, topper, front-maker, nisher, collar and cuff cutter, finisher, aker. Blouse, pinafore-maker, cutter; nderclothing maker; needlehand, quilter.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males of all ages.	Females.				
	Males.	Females		Under 20.	Over 20.	Males.	Females	
maker, seamstress	161	192	874	2398	11,081	49	3532	18,487
Total.....	353		14,553			3581		

Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 41.

MACHINISTS. (*Section* 43.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females. —19	Females. 20—	Males. —19	Males. 20—	Total.
Machinist, machine - worker (undefined) ..	2887	6222	441	1113	10,663

This section was intended for the men in charge of cranes, winches, and other heavy machinery, when their trade was not defined, but it is evident, from the details of age and sex above given, that those returned are mostly workers of sewing machines, who should have been included with shirt-makers, milliners, tailors, and boot-makers.

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
3157	2089	1239	4178	10,663

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

Pneumatic tube attendant, hydraulic crane-driver, machine attendant, packer; turbine driver, winch driver.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		816	Heads of Families 1939.
	Females		1123	
Birthplace	In London	62 %	1197	
	Out of London	38 %	742	
Industrial Status	Employer	3 %	57	
	Employed	88 %	1701	
	Neither	9 %	181	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	To
Total.	1939	1617	3135	24	6
Average in family ..	1	·83	1·62	·01	3

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part I.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	978	14·6
2 & under 3 ,,	1877	27·9
1 & under 2 ,,	2404	35·8
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	1415	21·1
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	14	·2
All others with 2 or more servants ..	3	—
Servants	24	·4
	6715	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	54 %	34 %	43 %
Not ,, ..	46 %	66 %	57 %

DISTRIBUTION.

East ..	Inner	1221
	Outer	393
North	Inner	215
	Outer	991
West ..	Inner	100
	Outer	200
Central	Inner	411
South-East	Inner	364
	Outer	1845
South-West	Inner	490
	Outer	485

Inner 2801, or 42 %
Outer 3914, or 58 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Employers and employed in this section are not separately stated in t census. As will be seen from the family enumeration, those returned h are almost entirely of the employed class.

Shirt-makers and Seamstresses.

Of the 18,487 persons returned under this head, 17,403 are women. Their age distribution is remarkable: no less than 7946 or 45½ per cent. are over forty-five years of age, and of these 2630, or 15 per cent. of the total, are over sixty-five years of age; indeed, the number of women over sixty-five is greater than that of those under twenty years of age. The section really contains two distinct classes of workers: the girls and young women employed in the City and East London factories, and the elder women who are compelled in their declining years to eke out a living by shirt finishing or by doing needlework for private families. Some particulars respecting the work will be found in the Chapter on Women's Work (Vol. IV., pp. 259-264). The few men enumerated are employers, overseers, or cutters. The last named may be time or piece-workers and earn from 30*s* to 50*s* a week.

Machinists.

10,663 persons are returned under this ambiguous head, of whom 9109 are females. The greater number are young, the proportion gradually decreasing in the latter years of life. Probably most of these are connected with the branches of the clothing trades previously noticed. The social classification indicates an almost total absence of the classes living in comfort.

Trade Organization.

The trade organization amongst milliners, dress and shirt-makers, &c., is very feeble. The only societies of any importance are the two connected with the Jewish mantle trade in East London, and these include some tailors. The United Ladies' Tailors' and Mantle-makers' Union (established 1891) has five hundred members, a few being women. The subscription is 2*d* a week, and the society offers

15*s* a week strike or lock-out pay. The antagonism between this union and the employers' association, the East London Master Mantle Makers and Ladies' Tailors' Association, is very strong, and led to a lock-out in March, 1895. One of the objects of the men's society is to abolish the "middle-man." In pursuit of this object a circular was sent to the City manufacturers calling their attention to the advantages to be obtained by employing mantle makers on their own premises instead of giving the work out to the managers of the East London workshops. The Masters' Association is managed on the same lines as the Tailors' Improvement Society (*vide* p. 15), the rules being almost identical.

Outside the Jewish trade there is very little organization. The Dress-makers', Milliners' and Mantle-makers' Union has about thirty members, but the Shirt and Collar-makers' Union has collapsed, after an existence of several years. The Milliners' and Dress-makers' Provident and Benevolent Institution (established 1849) is the strongest organization in these trades, and even that is not well supported by those for whom it is intended. It assists members in sickness and other times of necessity, and has investments worth £13,000. Its constitution is rather that of a charity than of a friendly society.

Wages Statistics.

Returns of the earnings of 934 persons belonging to these sections have been given by fifteen employers. Eleven are dress-makers and milliners, one a corset and stay-maker, and three manufacturers of underclothing. Of these 934 workpeople, 111 were men and boys and 823 women, of whom thirteen received a yearly salary, and 810 were weekly wage earners. The earnings of these 810 women were as follows :—

5*s* and under	86	or 11	per cent.	
6*s* ,, 7*s*.....	68	,, 8½	,,	Below 12*s*, 42 per cent.
8*s* ,, 9*s*.....	102	,, 12½	,,	
10*s* ,, 11*s*.....	83	,, 10	,,	
12*s* ,, 13*s*.....	108	,, 13	,,	12*s* and over, 58 per cent.
14*s* ,, 15*s*.....	101	,, 12½	,,	
16*s* ,, under 20*s*...	175	,, 21½	,,	
20*s* ,, under 25*s*...	47	,, 6	,,	
25*s* ,, over.....	40	,, 5	,,	
	810	,, 100	,,	

It seems probable that, reckoning apprentices, many of whom receive no wages and so do not appear in the returns, fully half the women and girls in these sections earn less than 12*s* a week. The bulk of the skilled workers earn from 13*s* to 20*s* a week.

Three employers, dress-makers and milliners, give particulars of earnings in busy and slack weeks, and these can be compared with the returns of twelve employers as given to the Board of Trade. The figures are :—

Dress-makers and Milliners.	No. of Firms.	Numbers Employed.		Percentage Reduction.		
		Busy Week.	Slack Week.	In numbers.	In earnings.	Combined.
Our returns.....	3	351	200	43	4	45
Board of Trade returns	12	504	236	53	9	57½

In both cases the difference between busy and slack weeks is very marked, and shows that for a large number of the workers, employment must always be very irregular. The Board of Trade returns, calling for the highest and lowest weeks' wages paid, may show the extreme variation, whilst our return may more nearly represent the state of things in ordinary slack as compared to ordinary busy weeks.

The seasonal changes do not press with such severity upon the shirt and collar makers, the manufacturers in this section not having to await the caprice of fashion like dress-makers and milliners. The reduction in the number employed is consequently less, the change of season exhibiting itself in lower earnings caused by short time. Three firms, employing 668 persons when busy, made returns to the Board of Trade. These show, when trade is slack, a reduction of 15 per cent. in the number of persons employed and 28 per cent. in the average earnings, or a combined reduction of 38½ per cent. in numbers and earnings.

Social Condition.

Out of 112,598 persons employed as dress-makers, milliners, shirt-makers, &c., only 4750 are males, and only 3774 are adult males; of these, again, only 3019 are heads of families. Of female heads of families, however, there are 22,000, and consequently these sections give us the best representation of the average style of life possible in families which have no male head.

The whole population included in the families with these 22,000 female and 3000 male heads counts up to 67,700 persons, and the style in which they live is indicated below.

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Milliners, &c.).

3 or more persons to a room	6,650 or 11 per cent.	} Crowded 32 %	
2 and under 3 ,,	12,950 ,, 21 ,,		
1 ,, 2 ,,	24,700 ,, 40½ ,,	} Not Crowded 68 %	
Less than 1 ,,			
More than 4 rooms	16,700 ,, 27½ ,,		
4 or more persons to a servant			
	61,000 ,, 100 ,,		
Employers' families, and servants	6,700		
	67,700		

The proportion (32 per cent.) living under crowded conditions is smaller than in many sections where male heads of families predominate, and does not compare unfavourably with that found in some of the skilled trades. Thus it would seem that the absence of the man is no great loss. This favourable appearance must be discounted to a certain extent, as families with female heads are smaller than those in which there is a husband. In these sections the average family consists of 2·71 persons, while in sections with male heads the average is never less than four and often nearer five persons per family. Consequently, families with female heads occupying only two rooms would seldom appear in the crowded classes, and most of those only renting one room would not fall into the lowest class. It is therefore safe to assume that these families are somewhat poorer than the figures indicate, and that allowance must be made in comparing them with other sections.

CHAPTER IV.

TRIMMINGS, ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS, UMBRELLAS, ETC. (*Section* 44.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females. —19	Females. 20—	Males. —19	Males. 20—	Total.
(1) Trimmings & Lace	1613	2995	184	1047	5839
(2) Artificial Flowers	1441	2570	90	486	4587
(3) Umbrella and Stick making	380	1152	501	2042	4075
(4) Buttons & Gloves	232	368	69	313	982
(5) Feathers & Quills	781	1049	55	242	2127
(6) Other Workers and Dealers	220	1062	76	710	2068
TOTAL....	4667	9196	975	4840	19,678

The age distribution of the males in this section is almost identical with that for the whole of London.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		3592
	Females		1979
Birthplace	In London	69 %	3855
	Out of London	31 %	1716
Industrial Status	Employer	16 %	829
	Employed	65 %	3658
	Neither	19 %	1084

Heads of Families 5571.

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
6371	5429	4030	3848	19,678

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Tot
Total	5571	6091	10,219	686	22,
Average in family..	1	1·09	1·84	·12	4

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Woollen cord manuf., fringe twister, tassel-mkr, masonic emblem wkr., bead-worker, art needle-worker, embroiderer.

(2) Florist's materials maker, cutter-out, stiffener, veiner, shader, mounter, leaf-maker, fruit-maker.

(3) Umbrella and parasol rib framer, cap, furniture, tip-maker, mender, fan-maker, stick-cutter, stainer.

(4) Button-borer, coverer; button and stud-maker; button-mould turner; glover, glove-dyer, boxing-glove maker.

(5) Artificial feather-maker, bed feather manuf., plumette mkr., feather cleaner, curler, dyer, maker; quill cutter, quill pen manuf.; tooth-pick maker.

(6) Accoutrement, military kit-maker, eyelet-hole maker, badge-maker, theatrical property maker, wardrobe dealer, second-hand clothier, old clothes dealer.

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part I.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	3333	14·8
2 & under 3 ,,	4672	20·7
1 & under 2 ,,	5282	23·4
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms	7505	33·3
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	802	3·5
All others with 2 or more servants..	287	1·3
Servants	686	3·0
	22,567	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	48 %	20 %	36 %
Not ,, ..	52 %	80 %	64 %

DISTRIBUTION.

East ..	Inner	6472
	Outer	569
North	Inner	1109
	Outer	5117
West ..	Inner	329
	Outer	1075
Central	Inner	2973
South-East	Inner	508
	Outer	1803
South-West	Inner	1201
	Outer	1411

Inner 12,592, or 56 %
Outer 9975, or 44 %

22

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers. Males	Employers. Females	Employed. Males of all ages.	Employed. Females. Under 20.	Employed. Females. Over 20.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females.	Tot
(1) Trimmings, embroidery, &c.	142	101	499	1508	2221	43	287	480
(1) Lace manufacture	40	20	93	62	179	6	85	48
(1) Hosiery manufacture	6	—	60	34	35	5	11	15
(1) Sundry dealers in clothing materials	53	6	247	19	35	37	5	40
(2) Artificial flower maker	107	65	375	1441	2304	94	201	458
(3) Umbrella, parasol, and stick-maker	217	42	2031	380	1002	295	108	407
(4) Glover, glove-maker	38	8	195	140	211	18	13	62
(4) Button-maker	21	2	103	92	132	7	2	35
(5) Quill, feather dresser, dealer	49	40	215	781	911	33	98	212
(6) Other workers and dealers in clothes	105	88	433	220	405	248	569	206
	778	372	4251	4677	7435	786	1379	19,67
TOTAL.....	1150		16,363			2165		
	Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 14.							

Trimmings, Etc.

Grouped in this section are a large number of minor trades connected with clothing, which can only be briefly mentioned. A considerable proportion of the workers are women, and in so far as they are concerned several of the occupations here included were described by Miss Collet in the chapter on Women's Work (Vol. IV., p. 256 *seq.*). In these cases therefore it only remains to treat briefly of the men.

Trimmings.—Fashion and foreign competition have made considerable changes in this branch of manufacture within recent years. Dress trimmings are not in vogue now, and the wholesale houses buy from foreign makers, Germany being able to undersell the English manufacturer in low priced goods, whilst for better class work the French have the preference and set the fashion. So extensive has been the decline of this part of the trade that manufacturers have been obliged to add other branches to keep their plant employed.

Upholsterers' or furniture trimmings now form the bulk of the trade, and in this, although the competition is much keener than in former years, our manufacturers appear to be holding their own, and in some kinds of work are gaining ground.

Employment depends largely upon the seasons. From April to June or the beginning of July, and from September to December, are the busy times, trade being very dull in the intervals and especially after Christmas, a gradual revival commencing about the end of January. The men employed are weavers and spinners. The weavers use hand-looms and make braids and fringes of all kinds. With few exceptions payment is by piece, and when busy the men can earn over 45*s* a week, but at other times a weaver who earned 25*s* would be regarded as fortunate, and an ordinary worker would not average 30*s* a week all

the year. Spinners make fancy cords and hangings. They are usually time workers and earn from 26*s* to 36*s* a week, most of them being nearer the lower rate than the higher. The men who make twisted cords for blinds are known as twisters. The work requires less skill than the more elaborate cords, and wages range from 16*s* to 25*s* a week, the average being about 20*s*.

The women greatly outnumber the men. They are weaveresses or table hands. Most of the former are married, some working in their own homes, others in the factories. They are paid by piece, and when busy a quick hand can earn 18*s* and even more a week, but seasonal variations reduce the average considerably, and the ordinary range is from 13*s* to 15*s* a week. The finishers or table hands are younger women and girls. They take the braid after it is woven, affix tassels, and otherwise complete the goods for market. It is piece-work and the ordinary work-women's earnings range from 10*s* to 14*s*, exceptionally quick hands exceeding the upper limits, while slow workers fall below 10*s*. A large number of learners are taken by some firms. These girls serve two years, starting at 3*s* or 4*s* a week, and rise 2*s* a year. Other firms do not employ learners, but give out a considerable part of their work to women who employ girls to assist them whenever sufficient work can be obtained. Except amongst the home workers, few women learn weaving, nor are many lads apprenticed. (See also Vol. IV., p. 266.)

Artificial Flower making.—4587 persons were returned as employed in the industries included under this head in the census, and of these 4011 were females, men's work being generally limited to the preparation of the materials. The women are known as cutters, shaders, "black-makers" or makers of mourning flowers, leaf-makers, and mounters. Ordinary earnings range as follows: cutters, 9*s* to 12*s*; shaders, 12*s* to 16*s*; black-makers, 7*s* 6*d* to 12*s*; leaf-makers,

8*s* to 10*s*; and mounters, 12*s* to 18*s*. Good hands exceed these rates considerably when busy. A large number of learners are employed; they serve two or three years and earn 2*s* to 7*s* or 8*s* a week. Many home workers are employed in the seasons; when slack, only the best of these women have anything to do and a large number of the indoor hands are discharged. The busy periods are from March to the end of May, and from the middle of August to the end of October.

Jet Bead-ornament making is also included here. These ornaments are made of black glass beads threaded on wires and then bent and combined in various shapes, resembling flowers or butterflies, to form aigrettes for ladies' bonnets. Ordinary workers earn from 7*s* to 12*s*. Apprentices start at 2*s* and rise to 7*s* in two years, when they are placed on piece-work. During the season the girls work until 7 or 8 o'clock, but as demand slackens the workroom is closed earlier and out-workers have little or nothing to do.

Walking-stick making.—Umbrella manufacturers and stick-makers are included under the same heading in the census. Of the 4075 persons returned, 2543 are men, of whom the greater number are engaged in the manufacture of walking or umbrella sticks. Usually, manufacturers make a speciality of one or the other, although the larger firms make both. Many varieties of the raw material are grown in England, but the greater quantity is imported in the rough state. The import of finished sticks is small.

Men and boys are employed; a few women used to work in the factories, principally as varnishers, but now they are only found assisting husband or father at home. In large houses the sub-division of labour is carried to a great extent, and machinery, such as the band-saw, introduced wherever possible. The skilled men are known as benders, straighteners or kilnmen. They straighten bent sticks and make the crooked handles so popular to-day. The wood is rendered pliable by boiling or by insertion in a kiln

of hot sand, the degree of heat and whether wet or dry depending upon the kind of wood. Both time and piece-work obtain, and earnings range from 35*s* to 45*s* a week when busy. The finishing, ferruling, &c., requiring less skill, is done by younger men who earn from 18*s* to 25*s*, the average being about 20*s*. Earnings depend largely upon the seasons and also the house in which a man works. The busiest time is from March to September and the slackest from November to January. Out-workers always suffer most when trade is slack, but those employed in the warehouse work short time.

Umbrella-stick making is mainly in the hands of a few large firms and machinery is much used. The men are of the same class as walking-stick makers, and work under similar conditions.

Stick mounting is a distinct branch. The men, known as cutters, finishers, chasers and polishers, make and affix the silver bands or other ornaments. Some stick-makers do this work on their own premises, but the smaller men send their orders to firms who make a speciality of the work.

Umbrellas and Parasols.—Nearly all the warehouses of the larger firms are in the City. The sticks are supplied by the umbrella-stick makers and the ribs and metal work by umbrella frame and furniture makers. The umbrella manufacturer takes the materials at this stage and produces the finished article. The men are known as cutters, frame-makers and finishers. The first-named operative cuts the segments of silk or other material, and is usually a time worker, with a wage ranging from 25*s* to 35*s* a week. The frame-maker puts the frame together, and the fitter or finisher completes the work, adding the ferrule and furniture; these men earn from 20*s* to 32*s* a week, and may be either on time or piece. The frame-maker sometimes takes the work out, but the finisher is always employed at the warehouse. Machining the segments of silk together and tipping or attaching the covers to the

frame is largely home work, but is performed by women. Payment is reckoned by the dozen, and the price may include both operations or only one. Earnings vary greatly according to the season. Machinists earn 16*s* to 25*s*, and tippers or finishers 10*s* to 12*s* a week. The busy seasons—which are from March to May for summer goods, and from August to October for umbrellas—have a marked effect upon earnings, the falling off in slack times being very great. In one establishment the number of women employed was reduced 17½ per cent., and the average earnings of those retained were only 6*s* 3*d*, as against 21*s* 3*d* in the busy time. The out-workers suffer most severely when trade declines. Some particulars of their earnings are given in Vol. IV., p. 268.

Glove making is practically an extinct industry in London. One firm employs a few glovers, but most of the persons returned are connected with wholesale or retail dealing.

Button manufacture employs about 350 persons in London. There are a few small masters and two or three large firms engaged in the trade. They make a great variety of buttons, chiefly the best class of goods, including military, livery, and other metal buttons, as well as those made of horn, pearl, vegetable ivory, and similar substances. Upholsterers' buttons form a small but distinct branch. The large firms have factories at Birmingham, the chief seat of the trade in England, making the cheaper goods, in which Germany also competes.

Feather curling employs the greater number of the 2127 persons returned under the head of feather dresser and dealer. The trade spreads from the City east and north-east, and although fluctuating, like other seasonal industries, gives fairly regular employment to a large number of girls. The busy times are the spring and early summer, and a shorter period lasts from September to November. Girls earn from 10*s* to 17*s* a week, and in certain cases, when busy, take feathers home instead of working late at the

factory. Some girls can only arrange the feathers; curling is more skilled work, and good hands are retained in slack times. Learners serve a two years' apprenticeship, commencing at 3*s* a week.

Others.—Amongst those returned as "Others" are dealers in cast-off clothing. Beside the small wardrobe dealers, whose shops are dotted here and there in the poorer suburbs, there is a wholesale trade almost entirely in Jewish hands. These men buy old uniforms and other clothing for export, large quantities going to Africa to gratify the native passion for finery. The neighbourhood of Houndsditch and the Minories is the centre of this business.

Wages Statistics.

In these trades 19,678 persons are engaged, of whom only 4840 are adult men. Particulars of wages paid have been received from nineteen firms employing 912 persons. These returns apply in several cases to the busy season, and so give earnings which are above the real yearly average. This is true in particular of the women, with whom seasonal variations are greatest. The occupations represented are:—

Trimming manufacturers	5	= 19 firms employing:
Walking-stick manufacturers	3	170 men
Stick mounters	2	686 women
Umbrella maker	1	56 boys
Artificial Florists	7	
Jet Ornament maker	1	912

The weekly earnings of the men are stated as follows:—

Below 20*s*	13,	or 8	per cent.	Under 30*s*, 50 per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*	30	,, 17½	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*	42	,, 24½	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*	29	,, 17	,,	30*s* and over, 50 per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s*	10	,, 6	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*	18	,, 10½	,,	
45*s* and upwards	28	,, 16½	,,	
	170	,, 100	,,	

The women and girls returned as employed number 12,112, and earnings as stated to us are as under :—

5*s* and under	100,	or 14½	per cent.	Below 12*s*, 50 per cent.
6*s* and 7*s*	95	,, 14	,,	
8*s* ,, 9*s*	75	,, 11½	,,	
10*s* ,, 11*s*	72	,, 10	,,	
12*s* ,, 13*s*	127	,, 18½	,,	12*s* and over, 50 per cent.
14*s* ,, 15*s*	40	,, 6	,,	
16*s* and under 20*s*	65	,, 9½	,,	
20*s* and over	112	,, 16	,,	
	686	,, 100	,,	

But few boys are employed, and these are mainly engaged in stick-making. Their earnings range from 6*s* to 12*s* a week.

Social Condition.

Of the 4840 adult men enumerated, 3592 are classified as heads of families, and in addition there are 1979 female heads. No useful comparison of earnings and style of life can be made. The condition of the families of those returned as employed, or neither employer nor employed, is, however, indicated below :—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Trimmings, &c.).

3 or more to each room	5300	or 17½	per cent.
2 and under 3 ,,	4700	,, 25½	,,
1 ,, 2 ,,	5300	,, 28½	,,
Less than 1 ,,	5300	,, 28½	,,
More than 4 rooms			
4 or more persons to a servant			
	18,600	,, 100	,,
Families of employers, and servants...	3950		
	22,550		

CHAPTER V.

DRAPERS, HOSIERS, SILK MERCERS, &c. (*Section* 45.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.		Males.			Total.
	—19	20—	—19	20—54	55—	
(1) Draper ..	2818	6224	3103	9807	512	22,464
(2) Hosier, haberdasher	1416	2955	439	1741	168	6719
(3) Silk, wool, &c., dealer	15	62	188	1315	163	1743
TOTAL	4249	9241	3730	12,863	843	30,926

The abnormal proportion of young men is very noticeable, as is the small number of old people (*see* diagram). It is obvious that many young drapers must seek other employment as they grow older. Similar conditions but more strongly accentuated are found amongst the women. While 49½ % of the men returned as drapers are under 25 years of age, no less than 65 % of the women are below that age.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		6143
	Females		1098
Birthplace	In London	40 %	2875
	Out of London..	60 %	4366
Industrial Status ..	Employer	30 %	2195
	Employed	61 %	4420
	Neither	9 %	626

Heads of Fam 7241.

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.
Total.	7241	8756	15,288	3092
Average in family ..	1	1·21	2·11	·43

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
3533	9647	8244	9452	30,926

CLASSIFICATION.

For full details see Appendix (Pt. I.).

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1092	3·2
2 & under 3 ,,	2320	6·7
1 & under 2 ,,	4810	14·0
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	18,023	52·5
Less than 4 to 1 servant, & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	3939	11·5
All others with 2 or more servants .	1101	3·2
Servants	3092	8·9
	34,377	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	19 %	6 %	10 %
Not ,, ..	81 %	94 %	90 %

DISTRIBUTION.

East ..	Inner 3176 / Outer 741
North .	Inner 1354 / Outer 8938
West ..	Inner 797 / Outer 4879
Central	Inner 1572
South-East ..	Inner 544 / Outer 5231
South-West .	Inner 1635 / Outer 5510

Inner 9078, or 26 %
Outer 25,299, or 74 %

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

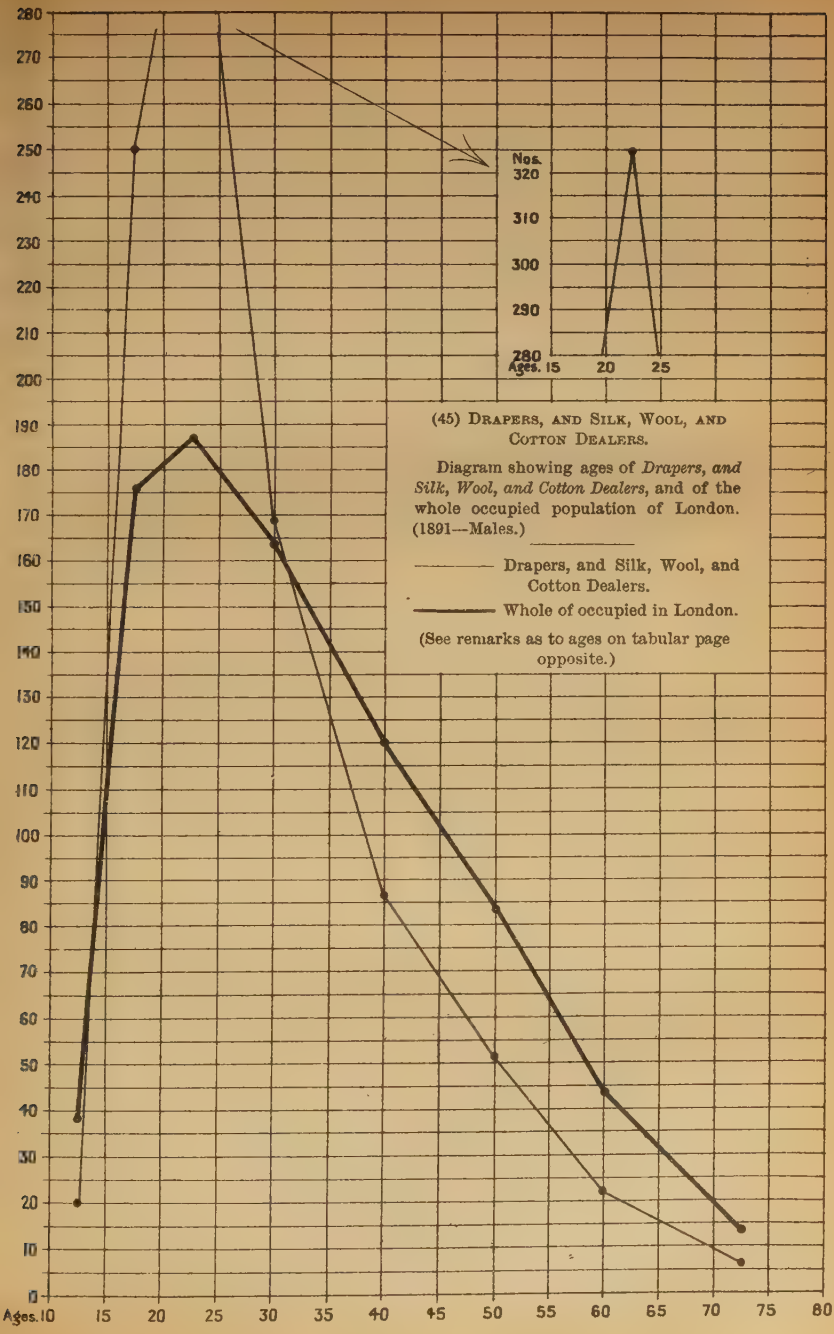
(1) Draper's assistant, shopwalker, baby-linen maker, tailor's draper.
(2) Neck-tie, scarf, sash, handkerchief, cutter, hemmer, trimmer; bow-maker, dressing-gown maker.
(3) Cloth, flannel, merino, flock, woollen waste, yarn dealer, Manchester warehouseman.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		T
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males	Females	
(1) Draper, linen draper, mercer	1545	312	3103	8418	8480	356	250	22
(2) Hosier, haberdasher	405	181	439	1369	3961	135	229	
(3) Silk merchant, dealer	79	1	29	179	12	9	1	
(3) Manchester warehouseman	34	—	42	304	—	4	—	
(3) Cotton, linen dealer	72	2	23	111	29	29	6	
(3) Dealers in wool and worsted goods..	139	2	94	492	20	26	4	
	2274	498	3730	10,873	12,502	559	490	30
TOTAL.....	2772		27,105			1049		

Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 10.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 88.)



Drapers, &c.

Although the census attempts to distinguish between drapers and hosiers and dealers in silk, wool, &c., it is not possible to separate them in any account of the work. Nearly every draper sells some or all of these goods. Retail dealing in men's hosiery is, however, in so many cases a distinct business that it can be considered apart. Grouped all together, the census figures may probably be correct for males; as to females there can be little doubt that in this, as in so many other trades, the real numbers employed are greater than the census shows. There are but few heads of families engaged. Shop assistants are more usually single, and of the unmarried, both male and female, by far the greater number live on their employers premises, and thus fall outside the social classification adopted in this book.

Wholesale Business.

In describing these trades a real distinction may be drawn between wholesale and retail. The wholesale houses are to be found in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Churchyard and Wood Street, and northward as far as Fore Street. Those further removed from the centre, mostly sell by retail also. Some of these wholesale firms are dealers only, but many of them manufacture part of what they sell. Not many women are employed. They seem only suitable when costumes, millinery or light fancy goods are sold, in other cases the packages to be handled are heavy, and the buyers are generally men. The proportion of employees living on the premises or in lodging-houses maintained by the employer, although considerable, is decreasing. Space is becoming too valuable; but it is still customary to provide meals. Each department devoted to a particular class of goods is distinct, and placed in charge of a "buyer," who has warehousemen, salesmen, or stock-keepers under him. In a small department one or two men

may suffice for all, but in others the work is subdivided amongst a number. The business concentrates on certain "show days"—usually Tuesday, or Tuesday and Wednesday; the stock is then specially displayed, and the town travellers remain in the warehouse to meet their customers.

Hours vary. Porters and packers come in between 7 and 8, and all must be in their places by 9, or a little earlier, when work begins. The doors are closed at 5 or 6, or at a later hour in summer. On Saturday some close at 1, others at 2, and a few at 3 o'clock. A good deal of work has still to be done after the doors are shut before all is finished for the day. Salesmen may not be delayed long by this, but in the "entering rooms" and packing departments late work is not infrequent, and in spring and autumn, when most departments are busy, the pressure is often extreme; entering clerks may perhaps then work till 9 or 10, while the normal 8 to 8 of the porters and packers is much exceeded. A few years ago it was not an uncommon practice to work till 11 or 12 o'clock on show days, but, partly in deference to public opinion, a better system has been introduced and such prolonged hours are exceptional.

Boys of sixteen, in order to learn the business, give two years' work without pay, but are provided with dinner and tea. Many of these come from the Drapers' and other orphanages. Young men who have served an apprenticeship in the Provinces are preferred to Londoners, and usually commence with a small salary. After the first two years a lad will receive about £12 per annum, rising to £25 in his fourth year. It is usual to give a fortnight's holiday, without loss of pay, after twelve months' service.

Retail Trade.

Drapers' shops vary in style—low, medium and high class—according to the customers for whose wants they cater, or more roughly according to the neighbourhood in which they are situated. Walworth is as much above

Bermondsey New Road as Lewisham or Holloway would consider themselves above Walworth; and a widening gulf separates these from shops in Kensington, in Oxford Street and in Regent Street. It would be easy to fill up the intervals with other shops which would compete more or less with those above and below, but actual competition is for the most part confined to shops which, as Euclid has it, are "similar and similarly situated."

A distinction like this in effect may be found in the system of payment—whether "cash" or "credit"—for the more fashionable the shop, the larger the proportion of running accounts. But it is more to our purpose, as affecting the conditions of employment, to classify shops according to their size—viz. large, medium and small. Small shops are those in which only the draper and his family and perhaps one assistant are engaged; shops of medium size, those where the employer himself lives on the premises, and where the number of assistants is not too great for personal relations to exist between employer and employed; and large shops are those huge modern establishments where the numbers employed range from 50 to 1500 or 2000. In such as these the personal relation is necessarily lost; everything is done by rule, and the business is a huge machine working more or less perfectly on prescribed lines from which no deviation is permitted.

Hours of Work.—The day's work in a large drapers' shop begins at 7 or 7.30, when the porters come, followed shortly by a number of junior assistants and apprentices, known as the "squadding" party, who dust and prepare the shop. An hour later the other assistants arrive and the early party go to breakfast. The dressing of the windows, a very important operation, is then proceeded with, and may take as much as two or even three hours to complete, but by 10 or 11 at latest all are in their places behind the counters, and from then till 1 o'clock is the busiest part of the day in West End and City shops. At 1 o'clock

dinner begins, and party after party are accommodated at intervals of thirty to forty-five minutes, twenty to thirty minutes being spent over the meal, and ten minutes in re-arranging the tables. The last dining party returns at 2.30 or 3 o'clock, and at 4 tea follows in the same order but at rather shorter intervals. As closing time approaches—6 or 7 in winter, and an hour later in summer—the assistants endeavour to set their departments in order, as before they can leave, everything must be in its place. This generally involves some further time in the shop, when the doors are closed, especially after a busy day. The assistants, living as a rule either on the premises or in houses set apart for them in the immediate neighbourhood, have to be within doors by 11, except perhaps one evening in the week, and with the morning the daily round begins again.

In establishments of a medium size—to be found mostly in the suburbs—the assistants do not tidy the shop over-night, for such shops remain open later, not closing their door before 9 or 10, and often having late customers who once in must be served; so time is found for this work in the morning. Except in shops doing a "cutting" trade the pressure is never so great as it is in larger businesses, nor is the discipline so severe, and the excessive hours are mitigated by a certain amount of rest. In these shops tea is usually served between 5 and 6, and the busiest part of the day is from 7.30 to closing time, especially on Saturday, and to a lesser degree on Monday and Friday evenings.

In small shops, attended to by the draper and his family, the hours are often longer but the conditions are again less irksome. The family lives in the room at the back of the shop and during the slack hours merely keep an eye on the shop, emerging when wanted. If there is an assistant at all she will be a young girl, living at her own home and paid a few shillings a week for her services. In the morning an occasional purchaser may drop in, and in the dinner-hour children come for cottons or needles or

other small articles. In the evening business becomes more lively.

In first-class large shops the hours of the men may be stated at from fifty-nine to seventy, and for the women from fifty-six to sixty-seven per week, the latter seldom entering the shop before breakfast. The suburban houses work longer, the hours ranging from sixty-two and a half to seventy-four and a half. In medium-sized shops, which are open from 8.30 to 9.30 with an early Thursday balanced by very late hours on Friday and Saturday, the total hours will be from seventy-one to seventy-six and in some places even more, especially in winter time. Quite small shops, opening early and late, have no quotable hours of work. As in the wholesale houses, it is customary to give a fortnight's holiday without loss of pay after twelve months' continuous service. This rule is effective in the wholesale trade, but the more frequent changes of place amongst the shop assistants very much reduce the number in the retail business who benefit. There may be holidays, but it will be between place and place, when no wages are being earned.

Remuneration.—Salaries, in addition to food, or food and lodging, are reckoned at a yearly rate, but paid monthly, or in some cases it may be weekly. Porters and work-girls who are engaged and paid by the week generally find their own meals, but in some houses tea is given. The weekly hands have actually the longer tenure of employment, as the salaried assistants may be dismissed, or may leave of their own free will, at any moment. Some young men prefer this plan, but with young women generally it is a grievance and at times causes great hardship. When out of his apprenticeship or period of probation a young man will receive £15 or £20 a year, or in low-class houses perhaps only £12. The rate of pay rises gradually to £40 or £50 for assistants behind the counter, and situations of shopwalker or buyer are the prizes of the profession. The salaries of shopwalkers range from £70 to £120 in the

lower class trade, and amount to £150 or £200 in large stores or West End houses, and those of buyers are about half as much more, rising to £300 and more. Buyers seldom live on the premises; shopwalkers may or may not, and are paid more or less accordingly. Young women begin at £10 or £20 and rise to £40. Few prize situations are open to them, and the greater number do not get beyond £20 or £30. They pass on into matrimony. With women as with men, the larger and better shops pay the most.

In addition to salary, "premiums," or commissions upon the sales effected, are given in all except a few high-class houses, where the custom is regarded unfavourably as leading assistants to press goods upon unwilling customers; such firms give commission only to the heads of departments on the general results. The amount earned varies with the ability of the assistant and the custom of the house. Some firms pay low salaries, and give premiums on the sale of most of their goods; others only upon remnants, or on special season or fancy articles, for which, if not sold quickly, the demand will fall off. Premiums are general at "sale" times. They are in some cases a fixed sum on certain articles according to the quantity sold; at others a percentage on the total value of the goods disposed of. One employer, for instance, gives $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in this way. The amount thus earned may vary from 2*s* a week when slack, to 15*s* or more at the sales, and afford an annual addition to earnings of £10 to £20, or, perhaps, from 20 to 40 per cent. on the salary. In one firm employing twenty-six assistants, the premiums in 1894 averaged £14 each, or 38 per cent. on the salaries. Other plans for increasing the efforts of the assistants for the welfare of the business are occasionally adopted, such as giving a weekly bonus to those who sell the most goods.

Young men seldom remain long in one place, but shift from shop to shop in the effort to better their position.

Young women do not move so freely, but here, too, the desire to obtain higher salaries, shorter hours, or a wider experience operates strongly. One young woman, with two years' experience, started at £10, and in three years rose to £18. She then went to another situation at £20, obtained there a rise of £5, and soon after left, accepting the same money (£25) elsewhere, but with shorter hours. Another (*vide* Miss Collet's report to the Labour Commission), had sixteen situations during the years 1885-1890—the salaries received being £25, £25, £16, £27, £25, £20, £20, 15*s* a week, £20, £20, £20, £50 (outdoor), £20, £25, £25, and £25. Some of these changes were owing to ill-health. New engagements are most usually made in the spring and autumn, before the busy season commences.

Excepting the married men, nearly all the assistants, as already indicated, live on the premises, or in lodging-houses controlled by the employers. As to the relative advantages in these respects of large and small shops, a wide divergence of opinion exists. In large establishments the accommodation provided is generally good, and never very bad. There are libraries and clubs, and other social facilities, but the assistants are for the most part never more than casual acquaintances. If anyone is ill, it only calls for passing remark; and the unfortunate individual lies in "hospital," as the room is called to which such cases are removed, unheeded but for the doctor's occasional visits. In smaller shops the life is more home-like; there is more individuality; everybody is known to everybody; there are few rules and fewer fines; and the personal supervision of the draper and his wife, who usually share the meals, ensures the proper cooking of the food. It is also easier to get leave of absence occasionally for a short time. On the other hand, such shops offer more opportunity for jealousies and petty persecutions.

Food and Accommodation.—The food, as a rule, is plain

but good, and without stint as to quantity, except so far as the short time allowed for eating it serves as a limit. This limit to consumption affects the large establishments most. The distances to traverse are often great, and five to eight minutes may be lost before the assistant, as one of a slowly moving and ever thickening crowd, reaches his seat and obtains his dinner. As to the fare provided, breakfast usually consists only of bread and butter—both good—with tea or coffee. In some of the smaller houses an egg, or bacon, or fish are given on alternate mornings. For dinner there will be meat and vegetables, or sometimes fish, followed by bread and cheese, or by a pudding once or twice a week. In small houses the meat is served hot and cold alternately. Tea, with bread and butter, is followed by supper of bread and cheese, with ale. Some houses provide milk or ginger-beer for total abstainers.

Bad cooking is responsible for most of the complaints heard, but where, as in some cases, the catering is done by contract at a fixed rate per head, there is sure to be discontent, unless supervision is very strict. In the smaller houses little extra luxuries are often given which could not be expected under the more rigid rules of management on a large scale. But in these large houses, the stewards provide fruit or jam or other relishes as a private speculation; setting them forth seductively on a side table for the use of those who choose to buy.

In a small house, the dining-room sometimes serves for sitting-room as well, and all the assistants will use the same room; but in large establishments sitting-rooms are provided for the young women and the men separately. The degree of comfort in these rooms varies from the plainest furnishing and bare walls, adorned only with a framed copy of the rules, to a well-appointed apartment fitted with bookcases or a piano. The men have mostly single beds—two, three, or four in a room. The girls not

unfrequently sleep two in a bed, and sometimes as many as six in a room, but the single-bed system is being gradually substituted. On the whole it may be said that the accommodation given is something similar to that of servants in upper-class families, the food probably less luxurious, and the work, no doubt, harder, but the degree of liberty is greater, and the social position accounted better, and hence the life is more attractive to most young people. In both, the comforts afforded continually increase, following that general rise in the standard of life which is so marked a feature of the present time.

Rules, &c.—Every establishment has its code of rules, and these in large houses are very numerous, covering every detail of shop and house life—many of them, perhaps, necessary, but others of a trivial, and, one would think, vexatious character, difficult to remember, and still more difficult to rigorously observe. They are usually enforced by a system of fines, such as 1*d* to 6*d* for being late in the morning, proportioned to the number of minutes lost; 6*d* to 1*s* for being late in coming in at night; 2*s* 6*d* for not coming in at all; an equally heavy penalty for allowing a customer to go away unserved without informing the shopwalker. Then there are a series of fines for offences against cleanliness—such as for bringing blacking into the bed-rooms—and so on without end. The practice differs in different cases—some fine only for shop and some only for house offences, and a few do not fine at all, but let the fear of loss of place following repeated breach of rule serve for all. Fines are usually deducted from the premiums earned, and are devoted to the library, or towards paying the doctor's bill. In some cases, such as fines for errors in the making out of bills, they go to the clerk who discovers the mistake.

With shops which close early on Saturday it is usual for the assistants to spend Sunday away with friends, or at their homes, returning on Sunday night. One employer

says that out of seven hundred only about seventy do not go away. But where, as in the suburbs, the shop is open late on Saturday night, the proportion going away is smaller, though all do so who can. Some firms even expect those who sleep on the premises to be out all day on Sunday, which is very hard on such as have no friends near. In almost all cases absence is presupposed unless notice is given. In small houses the Sunday meal hours are irregular. Breakfast will await the convenience of the master, and dinner be postponed inconveniently. The assistants, moreover, are sometimes obliged to stay in by turns to mind the house. Some of the smaller masters are very strict with regard to their apprentices and the young women they employ, and if they spend Sunday away it must be with recognized friends or relations.

Training.—The use of formal indentures of apprenticeship is declining. The young people are taken "on their good behaviour." They can thus be discharged if incompetent or can themselves leave if they do not wish to stay. In the larger shops youths give four and girls three years, or one year less in either case if a premium is paid on entering. Most beginners serve the full period. Some of these large shops refuse to take female learners at all, only qualified assistants being engaged, and in others the number is restricted. This is not the case with lads, who are useful as messengers and in many other ways, while girls are only required behind the counter. In smaller shops these conditions are reversed: there is not much employment for boys, and the quieter character of the counter-work gives plenty of opportunity for a girl to learn her business. In these shops the time of service is shortened to three or even two years, and it is in this class of shop that most young women learn their business.

Apprentices are boarded and lodged during their term of service, and receive premiums on amount of sales like other assistants. They merely draw no salary.

Most of the men employed have come from the country, while the greater part of the girls learn in London shops. Youths taught in the provinces obtain a better general knowledge of the trade. It is said that there is no finer business-training than that received in a draper's shop, and, in support of this, it is pointed out that drapery has generally been the centre from which has sprung the wonderful organization of great establishments which claim to be "universal providers."

Of those who come up to serve in London drapers' shops an abnormal proportion are from Wales. Many of the employers are Welsh, and give a preference to their countrymen. Similar preference is shown by other employers for men from their own shire. This, when known, attracts the favoured men, with the result that we find in one City house most of the employees are Cornishmen, whilst in another men from the fen country predominate.

Health.—The long hours worked in the drapery trade, combined with prolonged standing, have a very detrimental effect upon drapers' assistants, causing anæmia and a general deterioration of health, which renders them an easy prey to indigestion, constipation, and kindred maladies. The short time allowed for meals, and the speedily acquired habit of "bolting" their food, so as to make the most of the allotted minutes, tend in the same direction. The results are most noticeable amongst the women, and especially those in busy shops where little or no opportunity for rest occurs. Unless a girl has an exceptionally strong constitution, the excessive strain soon tells on her health; and thus it happens that many have to leave the trade, whilst others give up for a time only to be again invalided soon after they return to shop life.

Some of the evil effects might be lessened by the general provision of seats for assistants, so that when not actually engaged with a customer they could take a few minutes' rest. Unfortunately, seats behind the counter are only

provided in a small minority of shops, and even in these establishments they are seldom used. Assistants are afraid to be seen sitting down. As one employer said, "It is necessary that they should always appear busy, even if much business is not being done; this is one of the great arts of the trade." If not serving, assistants must be arranging or re-arranging their stock, or must exercise their ingenuity to find some other means of occupying their time.

The Early Closing Movement.—Prolonged working hours in this trade constitute a grievance which presses with equal severity on employer and employed, and the former are almost as anxious to shorten hours as the latter. The Early Closing Association formerly trusted entirely to voluntary effort, but since 1887 has sought to supplement this by legislative action. Subsequently the purely voluntary principle has been put forward again by a society known as the Voluntary Early Closing Association, of which the leading spirits were seceders from the older society. These societies vie with each other, and since 1890 more voluntary improvement has been made in London than in any other five years. But the latest reports of the younger society show the great difficulty it finds in carrying out its principle. It is very easy for a few determined opponents to make the reduced hours impossible. All may agree at first, but if one man drops out, others will, reluctantly or otherwise, follow his example. Instance after instance of this sort has proved disheartening, and it may be that the limits of voluntary action have been reached for the present.

In the wholesale and high-class businesses hours have been greatly reduced, but in low-class trade, and especially in the suburbs, long hours are still the rule, and any improvement gained has been slight. More progress has been made with the mid-week evening holiday. Many shops now close at 5 and others at 2 P.M. on Thursday. Uniformity in this respect does not seem to be essential.

Much of the opposition to compulsory closing comes

from the fear that its adoption would give an undue advantage to the large shopkeeper. Large shops may even find an economy in early closing, but the smaller men, who do most of their trade in the evening, see it in a different light. In the wholesale trade opponents point out that the seasonal character of the trade renders some elasticity of hours necessary.

It is probable that whether the regulations be voluntary or legal, wholesale and retail trade must be considered separately, and I should be disposed to think that retail shops need to be treated in various categories. It has been suggested that a total number of hours should be fixed as the week's work, and that every shop should be free to apportion this time at their own pleasure—declaring that their hours of business, day by day, are so and so—a notice to this effect being posted up on the shop-doors for all to see. It seems possible that some such plan might be practicable and efficacious, and could be enforced by fine; but if so, it would appear necessary to accept, at least, three different grades of shops. A shop which claimed to be first class might be limited to fifty-five hours, second class sixty or sixty-five, and third class seventy—or something of the kind. A limit to the prolongation of work after the doors are shut would seem to be within the scope of trades union or even individual action.

Future Prospects of the Assistants.—The prospects of male drapers' assistants as drapers are not very bright. The number of high-salaried places is comparatively very small, and the work is such that, after thirty-five years of age, an assistant has not much chance of obtaining a new situation. The bulk of the customers are young women, and they, it is said, like to be served by young men; and beyond this, the work is evidently unsuited for the old, requiring much quickness of body as well as of mind. The only opening is that of starting an independent business, and the chances in this direction have been considerably narrowed by the

growth of the large shops. With a little capital and a little credit it can be done, but the statistics of bankruptcy, and the perennial sales of bankrupt stock, show how often the attempt ends in disaster. The result is that old drapers are to be found in many other walks of life, and those are more likely to be successful who have not passed meanwhile through the sad experience of a drapery business on their own account.

For young women, as we have already said, matrimony is the most hopeful future, though the life and work are not such as are likely to fit them particularly for the married state.

Hosiers.

A linendraper will sometimes call himself also a hosier, but it is in ladies' hosiery mostly that he deals, and the term "hosier" is almost exclusively applied in the trade to the dealers in ties, socks, &c., for men's wear. To this is added the trade of shirt-makers.

The hosiery business is conducted on very different principles from those which govern the action and growth of drapers' establishments. Instead of increasing in size, adding shop to shop contiguously, and department to department, a hosier, if he enlarges his business, does so by taking another shop in a different district, and placing a manager in charge of it.

The assistants are almost invariably men. Youths are taken as apprentices for three or four years, a premium of £20 or £30 being paid for the shorter period. These youths are boarded and lodged, and, if a premium is paid, may receive a small weekly stipend, equal in amount to a return of the premium at the end of the period. When out of their apprenticeship, if they continue to live in the house, the young men earn about £20 a year; but if, as is becoming more general, they lodge elsewhere, a weekly wage of about 16*s* is paid. In addition, commissions on

sales are given, which may amount to 5*s* for junior, rising to 15*s* per week for first salesmen. The proportion of juniors tends, it is said, to increase, a process viewed with much disfavour by older assistants.

As a rule, hosiers stand aloof from the Early Closing movement, and it is evident that their interests are somewhat different from those of drapers. The business depends more on chance customers, to whom the sight of the shop recalls some want, or whose fancy is attracted by some article in the window. The longer the shop is open where men may pass, the more trade is likely to be done, and thus the hours are long. These shops usually open at 8.30, and remain open till 10 P.M., and even 11 or 12 on Saturday. The hours in the West End are shorter, for their customers do not often pass after 8 o'clock. Some of the City shops have adopted early closing on Saturday—basing their action, no doubt, on a similar calculation.

Some of the 4371 females returned under the head of "Hosier, Haberdasher," keep small haberdashers' shops; others may be engaged in the hosiery department of drapery houses; but a greater proportion would be tie and bow-makers, a considerable number of women following this occupation in the City and East London. They have been already noticed in the chapter on Women's Work (Vol. IV., p. 264), and further reference is unnecessary.

Trade Organization.

Although 27,105 persons were returned as employees in these trades in 1891, of whom 10,873 are adult males, they are practically unorganized. Only two trades unions admit drapers' assistants, and neither of these restrict their membership to this group of trades, but admit all shop assistants without distinction. These societies are the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and

Clerks, and the United Shop Assistants' Union. The former was established in 1891 ; it is strongest in Manchester and the North of England, and has only six branches with about two hundred members in London. The United Shop Assistants' Union (formed in 1889) confines its attention to London and the retail trade. It has eight branches and about four hundred members. Of these London unionists not more than half would be drapers' assistants. Though women are eligible for membership with both societies, very few join. Beside the usual difficulties and prejudices encountered in organizing labour, the idea that it is beneath their dignity to belong to a trade society is general amongst shop assistants, and especially amongst the women.

The objects of both societies are similar: they seek to reduce the hours of work, to obtain fixed meal times, to abolish the "living-in" system and fines, to provide legal assistance to members, and to assist members when unemployed or sick, and at death. Subscriptions vary from 2*d* to 6*d* per week, the former being the lowest rate paid by women and juniors. In the National Union the contributions are payable monthly.

There are a number of provident societies. Of these, the most distinctive is the Linen and Woollen Drapers, Silk Mercers, Haberdashers and Hosiers' Institution, which was inaugurated in 1832 to assist aged and necessitous warehousemen and drapers, their widows and orphans. It also provides medical relief for members resident in London. The subscription varies according to age. For members joining under twenty-four years of age it is one guinea per annum, and may be compounded by a life subscription of ten guineas. Members are entitled to medical attendance and to 10*s* a week for twenty-six weeks during sickness; in case of distress, an allowance of not more than 15*s* a week may be given, and men over sixty years of age and women after fifty-five can obtain an

annuity. There are about two thousand members, the annual income is about £9500, and the investments are worth £54,400. Weekly amounts varying from 7*s* 6*d* to 15*s* are now being paid to 180 pensioners; and the institution is building some cottages for its aged members at Mill Hill.

Other societies of a similar character, primarily for men engaged in the wholesale trade, but not restricted to them, are the Provident Association of Warehousemen, Travellers and Clerks, and the Metropolitan Commercial Travellers and Warehousemen's Association. The former was established in 1871 to provide a weekly allowance to members out of employment, and medicines and medical attendance during sickness; also to grant assistance in distress or old age, and a sum of money at death. There are six thousand members. The subscription ranges from 2*s* 6*d* to 7*s* 6*d* a month, according to age at entry, and the amount of benefit, when out of employment, may vary from 20*s* to 60*s* for the first month. The income is over £7500, and the invested funds £24,000. The Metropolitan Commercial Travellers and Warehousemen's Association provides medical assistance in sickness and a sum of money at death; the subscription varying upward from 3*s* 8*d* per month, according to age. Beside the classes named in its title, it admits retail drapers, clerks and assistants to membership.

Statistics of Earnings.

Returns have been received from thirty-six employers, the occupations being stated as under:—

Drapers	27	= 36 firms employing:	
General Drapers	3	Men	1416
Fancy „	2	Women & girls	1643
Draper and Silk Mercer	1	Boys, &c.	140
Draper and Hosier	1		
Manchester Warehousemen, &c.	2	Total	3199

Of this 3199 persons, 2019 (1158 men and 861 women) are paid monthly salaries, and 1020 (283 men and boys and 737 women) are weekly servants, the remainder being apprentices who receive their board and lodging only. With few exceptions, the weekly servants do not belong to the section, the men and boys being porters and messengers, and the women dressmakers and milliners. Omitting these, there are 1177 men, 931 women and 160 apprentices (115 lads and 45 girls) employed by the firms with whom we have to deal here.

Nearly all the men receive board and lodging in addition to their salary; only 266 did not "live in," and of these only 19 did not have their meals on the premises. Most of the assistants who "live out" are engaged in the wholesale trade, 134 out of the 266 being on the staff of three wholesale firms, and the remainder being managers or heads of departments in the retail drapery.

The following table shows the number receiving different rates of salary, distinguishing those living on the premises from those receiving board only. The earnings of the few assistants paid weekly have been multiplied by 52, and added to the other returns :—

Men's Annual Salary.	With Board and Lodging.		With Dinner and Tea only.	
Under £20	105 or 11½ per cent.		2 or 1 per cent.	
£20 and under £30	152 ,, 16½ ,,	60	7 ,, 2½ ,,	
30 ,, 40	146 ,, 16 ,,		7 ,, 2½ ,,	18
40 ,, 50	148 ,, 16 ,,		11 ,, 4 ,,	
50 ,, 60	112 ,, 12 ,,		11 ,, 4 ,,	
60 ,, 70	64 ,, 7 ,,		10 ,, 4 ,,	
70 ,, 80	52 ,, 6 ,,		10 ,, 4 ,,	
80 ,, 90	42 ,, 4½ ,,	40	10 ,, 4 ,,	
90 ,, 100	28 ,, 3 ,,		16 ,, 6 ,,	82
100 ,, 150	50 ,, 5½ ,,		56 ,, 21 ,,	
150 ,, 200	7 ,, 1 ,,		47 ,, 17½ ,,	
200 and over	5 ,, ½ ,,		79 ,, 29½ ,,	
	911 ,, 100 ,,		266 ,, 100 ,,	

As might be expected, most of the men who live on the premises receive low salaries, 60 per cent. taking less than £50; but even allowing £20 as an equivalent for the

lodging and partial board lost, only 18 per cent. of those who live out are in a parallel position. The earnings given do not include premiums, except in a very few instances.

The salaries of the female assistants are lower; the large majority do not exceed £35 a year, as is shown in the following table :—

Women's Annual Salary.	With Board and Lodging.		With Dinner and Tea only.	
Under £20	92	11½	28	19
,, 30	256	32½	25	17½
,, 40	215	27½	15	10
,, 50	76	10	20	14
,, 60	68	9	13	9
,, 70	33	4	8	5½
,, 80	12	1½	5	3½
,, 90	11	1½	8	5½
,, 100	9	1	1	½
£100 and under 150	13	1½	10	7
150 ,, 200	1	—	4	3
200 and over	—	—	8	5½
	786	100	145	100

Under £20	92	11½	28	19
,, 30	256	32½	25	17½
,, 40	215	27½	15	10
,, 50	76	10	20	14
,, 60	68	9	13	9
,, 70	33	4	8	5½
,, 80	12	1½	5	3½
,, 90	11	1½	8	5½
,, 100	9	1	1	½
£100 and under 150	13	1½	10	7
150 ,, 200	1	—	4	3
200 and over	—	—	8	5½
	786	100	145	100

To compare the earnings of drapers' assistants with other workers, allowance must be made for premiums, and also for the lodging and food. Premiums probably average 5*s* a week, but as in some cases they are included in the returns, an average addition of £10 per annum is most likely sufficient, and the board and lodging may be taken as worth £25 a year to the male and £20 to the female assistants. On this basis the earnings of those "living in" will be represented by the amounts shown in the following table :—

Yearly Earnings.	Men.		Women.	
£30 and under £40	—	—	1	—
40 ,, 50	54	5½	91	11½
50 ,, 60	118	13	256	32½
60 ,, 70	177	19½	215	27½
70 ,, 80	141	15½	76	9½
80 ,, 90	147	16	68	8½
90 ,, 100	80	9	33	4½
100 ,, 150	157	17½	40	5½
150 ,, 200	30	3	5	½
200 and over	7	1	1	—
	911	100	786	100

Thus it appears that, so far as earnings are concerned, about half the men are little better off than a workman earning 30*s* a week. They do not lose so much time as workmen paid by the hour probably would; on the other hand, their working life, so far as the drapery is concerned, ends much earlier.* The earnings of females, however, compare favourably with those paid in other women's occupations, no less than three-fourths receiving the equivalent of 20*s* a week. This is more than they could hope to obtain in most employments, and may explain why there is never any lack of young women apprentices, notwithstanding the long hours and known ill effects of the trade upon health.

Of the 115 lads returned as apprentices, thirty-four received some remuneration, which in most cases was under £10 for the year. None of the forty-five girls received any salary.

Drapers' porters and packers earn 18*s* to 26*s* a week, the usual amount being 20*s* to 22*s*. In large establishments some of these men live on the premises. Besides board and lodging such men receive a weekly wage varying from 7*s* to 18*s* a week.

Social Classification.

Only a small section of those engaged in these trades come within the scope of the family enumeration, owing to the prevalence of the "living-in" system and the large proportion of young persons employed. Any attempt, therefore, to estimate the condition of the entire section by a comparison of earnings and rooms occupied would be useless. The heads of families that come under review include the smaller shopkeepers, some of those engaged in the wholesale trades and the higher grades of the retail

* The fact that the bulk of the assistants are young men partially explains why such a large proportion receive small salaries.

drapery, and the minor manufacturing trades, such as tie-making. The following is the statement of rooms occupied :—

Classification of Population by Families according to Style of Life (Drapers, &c.).

3 or more persons to each room	1090 or 5 per cent.	Crowded,	
2 & under 3 ,, ,,	2320 ,, 10½ ,,	15½ %	
1 ,, 2 ,, ,,	4810 ,, 22½ ,,		
Less than 1 person ,,		Not crowded,	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	13,580 ,, 62 ,,	84½ %	
4 or more persons to a servant			
	21,800 ,, 100 ,,		
Employers' families and servants	12,570		
	34,370		

As in most businesses which often involve the occupation of a shop, the standard of comfort, as tested by the rooms occupied, is high.

PART II.—FOOD AND DRINK.

FOOD AND DRINK.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

THOSE occupied in the preparation or sale of food and drink add up, according to the census, to 138,434, their sex and age being as under :—

Persons Represented : (A) Census Enumeration.

ENUMERATED BY AGE AND SEX.

	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65—	Total.
Males	2969	16,384	17,087	65,130	7117	2728	111,415
Females	852	5325	4438	12,679	2520	1205	27,019
Total	3821	21,709	21,525	77,809	9637	3933	138,434

The proportion of females employed is large amongst the confectioners (jam and sweet-stuff makers) and in tobacco manufacture, but only exceeds that of the men in the case of lodging and coffee-house keepers. There are in all 76,000

heads of families (8500 of whom are females) and the members of these families amount in all to 376,697 as follows :—

Persons Represented : (B) Enumeration by Families.

No.	Sections.	Heads.	Total numbers (excluding Servants).	Per Family (excluding Servants).	Servants.
46	Millers, Sugar Refiners, &c.	1231	5586	4·54	228
47	Brewers and Mineral Water Manufacturers	2803	12,861	4·59	505
48	Tobacco Manufacturers, Tobacconists	4143	18,766	4·53	678
49	Bakers, Confectioners, &c.	11,090	51,537	4·65	1490
50	Milk Sellers	5407	24,825	4·59	713
51	Butchers, Fishmongers, &c.	16,248	76,675	4·72	3735
52	Grocers, Oilmen, &c.	15,870	71,729	4·52	3299
53	Publicans	11,050	55,198	5·00	6011
54	Lodging and Coffee-house keepers	8107	37,251	4·59	5610
	Total	75,949	354,428	4·66	22,269
	Servants		22,269		
	Total population		376,697		

The 22,269 servants attend 83,017 persons, and the remaining 271,411 individuals wait upon themselves or each other. Of the 83,000 of the servant keeping class 49,300 have only one servant to four or more of those served, 25,100 have one servant with less than four in family or two servants with more than four, and 8600 live in other families with two or more servants. Of the 271,000 without servants, nearly 186,000 have either more than four rooms per family or less than one person to a room ; 64,000 live one and under two persons to a room, 46,500 have two and under three to a room, and less than 25,000 live under the "crowded" conditions of three or more persons to each room :—

Lower Classes.	4 or more persons to a room	8,888	2·4 %	6·7 %	Crowded 19·0 %
	3 and under 4 ,, ,,	16,050	4·3 %		
	2 and under 3 ,, ,,	46,540		12·3 %	
	1 and under 2 ,, ,,	64,009		17·0 %	Not Crowded: 81·0 %
Central Classes.	Less than 1 person to a room	10,574	2·8 %	49·2 %	
	More than 4 rooms ...	125,350	33·3 %		
	4 or more persons to a servant	49,315	13·1 %		
Upper Classes.	Less than 4 persons to 1 servant, and 4 or more persons to 2 servants ...	25,108		6·7 %	
	All others with 2 or more servants	8,594		2·2 %	
	Servants	22,269		5·9 %	
		376,697		100 %	

Taken section by section the particulars are as follows:—

Social Condition (by Sections).

Section.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to 1 servant.	Less than 4 persons to a servant.	Servants.	Total.
Millers, Sugar Refiners	685	1295	1473	1761	372	228	5814
Per cent.....	11½	22½	25½	30	6½	4	100
Bakers and Confectioners.....	4827	9115	11,139	24,722	1734	1490	53,027
Per cent.....	9	17	21	47	3	3	100
Butchers, Fishmongers	6336	12,446	16,361	35,688	5844	3735	80,410
Per cent.....	8	15½	20½	44½	7	4½	100
Milk-sellers	1749	3897	6154	12,174	851	713	25,538
Per cent.....	7	15½	24	47½	3½	2½	100
Grocers, Oilmen	3582	7975	13,638	41,867	4667	3299	75,028
Per cent.....	5	10½	18	56	6	4½	100
Tobacco Manufacturers and Tobacconists	2901	3513	3634	7681	1037	678	19,444
Per cent.....	15	18	18½	39½	5½	3½	100
Brewers and Mineral Waters	1908	3103	3641	3509	700	505	13,366
Per cent.....	14½	23½	27	26	5	4	100
Publicans	2345	3691	4955	34,594	9613	6011	61,209
Per cent.....	4	6	8	56½	15½	10	100
Lodging and Coffee-houses	605	1505	3014	23,243	8884	5610	42,861
Per cent.....	1½	3½	7½	54	20½	13	100

Arranged in order of apparent poverty.

	Employers and Employed.	Employed only.
	Crowded.	Crowded.
Tobacco Manufacturers, &c.	33·0 per cent.	41·6 per cent.
Brewers and Mineral Waters	37·6 ,,	40·9 ,,
Millers, Sugar Refiners, &c.	34·1 ,,	38·3 ,,
Bakers and Confectioners	26·3 ,,	38·2 ,,
Butchers and Fishmongers.....	23·4 ,,	33·1 ,,
Milk-sellers	22·2 ,,	30·9 ,,
Grocers and Oilmen.....	15·4 ,,	24·9 ,,
Publicans	9·8 ,,	19·3 ,,
Lodging and Coffee-houses	4·8 ,,	8·9 ,,

The changes which have taken place in the numbers employed since 1861 are shown in the following table :—

Census Enumeration, 1861-1891, for each Section.

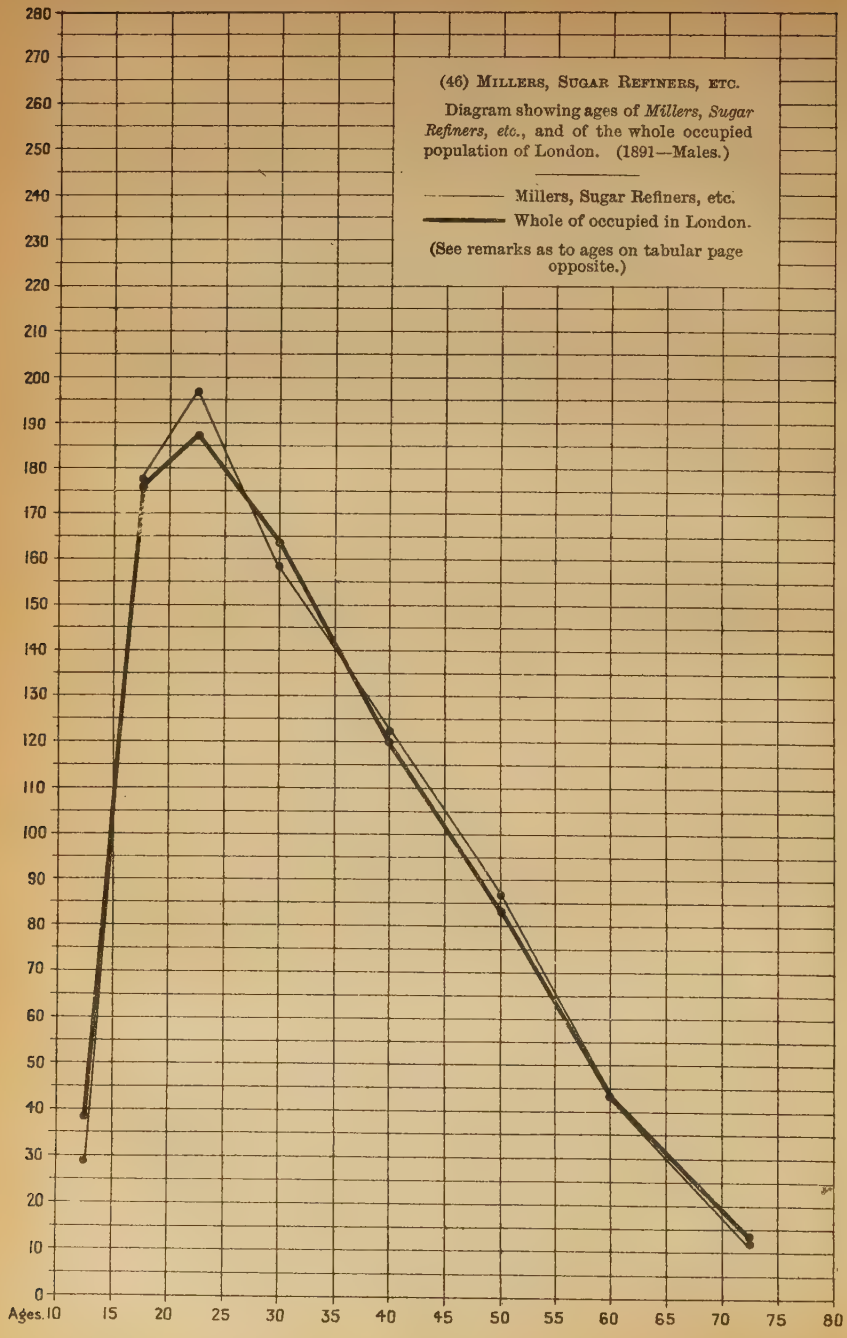
	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Millers, Sugar Refiners, &c.	4,500	4,900	2,900	2,300
Bakers and Confectioners ...	15,500	16,700	20,000	25,800
Butchers and Fishmongers	22,600	22,700	24,800	28,600
Milk-sellers	5,600	6,300	7,800	10,200
Grocers and Oilmen	19,800	22,900	24,700	31,500
Tobacco Manufacturers.....	5,100	6,400	7,700	9,600
Brewers and Mineral-water Manufacturers.....	3,600	4,500	4,100	4,400
Publicans	18,200	16,200	15,100	15,000
Lodging and Coffee-houses	6,600	7,800	10,600	11,000
Total.....	101,500	108,400	117,700	138,400

Looking at the total numbers employed from 1861 to 1891, we find a decrease in milling and sugar refining which points to a loss of trade, but this is more than balanced by the increase in the section which deals with the manipulation of flour and sugar in the baking of bread and cakes, and the manufacture of sweets. So, too, the

satisfactory and very marked decrease in the number of those who sell alcoholic drinks finds its counterpoise in the no less marked increase in milk-sellers and coffee-house keepers.

In this group of trades there are, on the average, only three or four employed persons to each employer.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



CHAPTER I.

MILLERS, SUGAR REFINERS, &c. (*Section* 46.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

s Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
iller, sugar r	46	210	1105	136	1497
ustard, vine- &c.	383	100	291	49	823
TOTAL....	429	310	1396	185	2320

age line in these trades follows very that of the average occupied population. agram.)

DISTRIBUTION.

	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
	263	227	1066	2320

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

our dresser, grinder, spoutman; rice iller. Sugar, syrup, treacle, baker, oiler, manufacturer. Melting-man, pan- an, charcoal-house man, oil-miller, usher, refiner, boiler.

ndiment, sauce, catsup maker; pickler, ickle bottler. Onion pealer, caper dealer, rry powder maker. Fruit-essence manu- cturer, ginger bleacher, grinder. Spice- erchant, dealer, bleacher, boiler. Pepper rinder. Liquorice refiner.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	1134	Heads of Families, 1231.
	Females	97	
Birthplace	In London .... 45 %	552	
	Out of London.. 55 %	679	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 10 %	122	
	Employed..... 86 %	1061	
	Neither ..... 4 %	48	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	1231	1104	3251	228	5814
Average in family..	1	·90	2·64	·18	4·72

CLASSIFICATION.

Numbers living in Families. %

3 or more to a room	685	11·8
2 & under 3 ,,	1295	22·3
1 & under 2 ,,	1473	25·3
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	1761	30·3
Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servants	213	3·7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	159	2·7
Servants	228	3·9
	5814	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	48 %	23 %	34½ %
Not ,, ..	52 %	77 %	65½ %

DISTRIBUTION.

For full details see Appendix (Pt. II.).

East ..	Inner 1230 / Outer 583	1813	
North	Inner 84 / Outer 579	663	
West ..	Inner 51 / Outer 314	365	
Central	Inner 154	154	
South-East	Inner 590 / Outer 901	1491	
South-West	Inner 542 / Outer 786	1328	
		5814	

Inner 2651, or 46 %
Outer 3163, or 54 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
orn miller	34	—	41	271	1	5	—	352
il miller and oil-cake maker	38	—	70	303	30	11	—	452
ugar refiner	32	—	99	525	14	22	1	693
ustard, vinegar, &c.	48	4	100	278	376	14	3	823
	152	4	310	1377	421	52	4	2320
TOTAL.....	156		2108			56		

Proportion of Employers to Employed-1 to 13½

Sugar Refiners.

The industry of sugar refining in London, and indeed throughout the United Kingdom, has been for many years in a declining condition. Though perhaps there have been other contributory causes, there is little doubt that this decay is mainly due to the drawbacks on the exportation of sugar granted by various foreign countries, and the bounties obtained thereby. In recent years bounties have in some countries been openly given, while in others laws as to the taxation of sugar have been passed with the full knowledge and intent that bounties would be their result. Originally, however, the bounty was intended only to be a drawback; the exporter of refined sugar was to receive back the exact amount he had paid as duty on the raw material; raw sugar, or the roots or juice from which raw sugar is made, were taxed on an estimate of the amount of refined sugar which they would produce; had this estimate been correct the refiner would have received no bounty on exportation; but, as a matter of fact, a quantity of refined sugar was obtained in excess of the estimate, with the result that the refiner received a larger amount as drawback upon the refined sugar which he exported than the duty which he had paid on the raw material.

As long ago as 1862 efforts were made to deal with the question, and between that date and 1889 it was the subject of continual agitation. From 1862 to 1877 constant conferences were held between the various countries concerned, but with no practical result. In 1879 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed "to inquire into the effects produced upon the Home and Colonial Sugar Industries of this country by the systems of taxation, drawbacks, and bounties now in force in various foreign countries; and to report what steps if any it is desirable to take in order to obtain redress for any evils

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which may be found to exist." The Committee reported that the system of bounties had practically extinguished loaf-sugar refining; in 1864 there had been in the kingdom thirty loaf-sugar refiners; in 1879 only one was at work. The refining of moist sugar, of which none was then manufactured on the continent, was still a prosperous industry; but the Committee pointed out "that were the system of bounties on export extended to moist sugar the question of the extinction of the trade in the country would be merely one of time, and the ruin which has fallen on the loaf-sugar refiners, would be followed by the ruin of the moist-sugar refiners, and the destruction of a vast industry." These fears were realized; the system of bounties, now in most cases fully acknowledged, was extended to every kind of sugar; France, America and Russia poured bounty-fed sugar into the country; and one after another the London refineries were closed. In 1888 only five were at work, producing from 3600 to 4000 tons a week; now (1895) this number is reduced to two, one of which is said to prosper chiefly owing to the possession of a valuable patent. With regard to the quantity of sugar produced there are no figures at our disposal since 1888, but how serious has been the reduction in the numbers employed in the industry the figures of the census show. In 1861 the number employed in London was 1549; in 1871, 1221; in 1881, 889; and in 1891, 693. As a large refinery was closed this year the number would now (1895) show a still further reduction.*

Exact details of the process of refining as now carried on in London we have not been able to obtain, but we believe that up to a certain point, at all events, the process is the same in all refineries. The general method is as follows:—The

* As we point out later, these figures give a wrong impression. Each of the refineries still at work employs nearly as many men as are given for the whole trade in the census, but the majority of them are returned as general labourers.

raw sugar is turned into cast-iron tanks or "blow-ups," where it is melted to "liquor" of a certain fixed density. From the blow-ups the hot liquor is passed through twilled cotton bags, drawn into an outer sheath of hemp meshing. These bags, to the number of fifty to two hundred together, are suspended below perforators in an iron tank, into which the liquor is poured from the blow-up. The bags have from time to time to be removed for washing, as in the process of filtration they gather a good deal of "scum." The bag-filtered liquor is next passed through beds of animal charcoal from 30 to 50 ft. deep to be purified; as it leaves the charcoal it is received in tanks, whence it goes into the vacuum pan; here it is boiled till it granulates, the subsequent processes varying according to the nature of the finished sugar to be made. When crystals are to be made the "grain" which has formed in the pan is passed into a centrifugal machine, which consists of a revolving perforated basket and sieve; the syrup is drained off by rotation, while the solid grains of sugar are left behind.

This description, even if not up to date in every particular, will suffice to explain the meaning of the names given in the census for the various employees in a refinery. They are melting man, wash-house man, liquor man, charcoal-house man, pan-man, centrifugal-machine man, and warehouse man. Exact details as to the wages of these various men we have not been able to obtain. With the exception of the pan-man their work is unskilled, and the wages for men appear to range from 20*s* to 32*s* a week; the earnings of the majority would be nearer the lower sum than the higher. The pan-man, whose position is highly responsible, and on whom the quality of the sugar largely depends, is paid from 40*s* to 50*s* a week.

Work is carried on night and day in two shifts of twelve hours, each man as a rule having an interval of two hours for meals.

In such refineries as are still open the work is regular

throughout the year, a uniform quantity of sugar—so many thousand tons—being turned out each week.

Millers.

The milling trade has been revolutionised during the last twenty years by the substitution of roller for stone milling. The roller mill, first introduced in Buda Pesth between 1863 and 1869, was soon adopted in America, with the result that between 1870 and 1880 English millers found their trade threatened by importations of Hungarian and American flour, superior in quality or more to the public taste than that which they were able to produce with stone grinding. In order to meet this foreign competition it was found necessary to adopt the new methods, and between 1875 and 1885 almost every mill of any size or importance was remodelled and fitted with a complete roller plant.

Under the old system, the wheat being ground between a pair of stones, the product of the grinding was divided into flour and bran; in roller milling the process is quite different: the wheat seed is gradually stripped of its husk, and the kernel by a number of operations is gradually reduced to flour. The system is entirely automatic and of great complexity, how complex may be judged from the fact that no sack of flour leaves a mill of which some portion has not been through about one hundred machines, travelling more than a mile in its course.

Even if we were able to do so want of space would forbid us to describe the process in full, but we may give such a short description as will enable the reader to understand the names of the various operatives employed in a mill.

Before the grain passes into the machines which will convert it into flour and offal, it has to be cleaned, an operation which has become much more important since the importation of foreign wheats, nearly all of which are

mixed with various sorts of impurities, such as earth, stones, smut balls, pieces of metal, and various kinds of grain other than wheat. To remove these foreign bodies a number of different machines are in use; for dry cleaning the wheat is passed through a series of sieves combined with winnowing fans to blow away dirt and refuse; through indented cylinders to separate barley, oats, and other kinds of seed; through brush machines or 'scourers,' and finally through a magnetic machine to remove pieces of metal. In most cases, however, dry cleaning is not sufficient, and the wheat has in addition to be washed; but as any excess of water is detrimental to the quality of the flour, the wheat on leaving the washing machine is carried to an apparatus known as a centrifugal drier; from this machine it passes, still damp, to a hot-air drier, and is finally subjected to a current of cold air, which leaves it at last in a fit condition for the manufacturing process. We are indebted to the kindness of an expert for the following account of the actual milling process:—"The cleaned wheat is first of all cracked and broken into fragments on several pairs of spirally corrugated rollers, technically known as break rolls. A four-break mill will need four pairs of breaking rollers; a six-break plant, six pairs, and so on, but in the British roller mill of to-day, six breaks is about the maximum allowance. The products of the different breaks are known as break products, and are subjected to a process technically known as 'scalping,' *i.e.* a sorting of the products of each break. Various machines are used to scalp, but for the earlier operations, say for the first three breaks, the favourite form of scalper is some kind of shaking sieve. The small proportion of flour made in the earlier breaks will be dressed out, while the broken and composite products known as semolina and middlings will be sorted out for suitable treatment. The two latter products are respectively fragments of the floury kernel mingled with a smaller

or larger proportion of bran and other particles which it is the aim of the milling process to eliminate. To purify the semolina and middlings sieve purifiers are now almost universally used; these are machines in which air currents are drawn through a shaking sieve by means of a more or less powerful fan, the object being to separate by means of such currents the fibrous impurities which are always more or less present in semolina and middlings. The lighter fibrous matter is caught in trays, while there is a chamber for collecting the dust. The function of a middlings purifier is simply to purify, *i.e.* to separate as many impurities as possible from semolina and middlings. To separate flour from such products is the work of a series of machines known as reels and centrifugals. The reel is a hollow cylinder consisting of a framework of ribs covered with silk or wire gauze (while a centrifugal is a reel furnished inside with a set of arms or beaters keyed to a central shaft), through the more or less fine meshes of which the flour is separated from the middlings. This operation is called by millers 'dusting the middlings,' for to them flour is known as 'dust.' If a reel receives a feed of dusty or floury middlings, the result of its treatment of this material will be that a large proportion of the floury particles will be detached from the middlings; while what does not pass through the mesh, but tails out at the end of the reel, may either be sent to a purifier for purification or to one or other pair of the smooth rollers which follow the break or ground rollers. The specific function of these smooth rollers is to reduce the middlings to flour. Whereas the grooved rollers have a more or less cutting or tearing action, the smooth or reduction rollers have a rolling or pressing action, which repeated on suitable stock has the effect of reducing the small flakes of middlings into flour."

Numerous as are the machines employed in these various processes, they do not require a large number of men to

attend to them, one man being responsible for more than one machine; indeed, the larger proportion of the men in a mill are employed in the receiving, loading, warehouse, and packing departments, where their work is entirely of an unskilled character, consisting mainly in raising, wheeling and lifting sacks of wheat and flour. Although these men have the opportunity of rising to more responsible positions they are at first nothing more than common labourers, and earn only small wages, ranging from 16*s* to 26*s* a week, though in one mill flour-packers are paid 28*s*. Of the men employed in attending to the machines the lowest grade are those in the cleaning department, known as smuttermen or screenmen, their wages are from 24*s* to 28*s* a week. Silksmen, whose work is less important than that of roller men and purifier men, earn from 24*s* to 28*s* a week; purifier men are paid from 24*s* to 29*s* a week; and roller men from 28*s* to 36*s*, though very few get so much as the higher sum. The work of the last two grades is of a responsible nature, as the machines have to be most carefully adjusted to do their work well, and their product must constantly be examined to test whether it is in the proper condition. As different wheats require a different adjustment of the machine, much knowledge and judgment is required in these departments, as well as constant care and attention. In each machine department, as well as in the warehouse and packing rooms, a foreman will be employed who is paid wages ranging from 30*s* to 50*s* a week.

Owing to the inequality in the rates of pay that obtain, the Millers' Union have recently sent out "Fair House Circulars," with the names of three of the best paying firms in the district, to public bodies in the Metropolis which contract for flour, such as the War Office, London County Council, and Board of Guardians. The minimum rate of pay which the union desire to see established is for roller men, 32*s*, for purifier men, silksmen, and screenmen, 28*s*, and for warehousemen and flour-packers, 26*s* a week,

wages which have been paid by one firm and exceeded by another in certain sections for some years.

In February, 1895, a circular letter was also sent to employers, with a view of adding to the number of firms on the "Fair List," but this met with no response.

About the same time the London Master Millers' Association were approached by the union with a view to arranging a minimum rate of pay for each section of labour. The masters, however, expressed the opinion that as the work varied considerably in different mills, the rates of pay must be decided in each case by the individual employer. The men, on the other hand, are probably justified in thinking that the varying rates of pay are due rather to the character of the respective masters than to any real difference in the nature of the work.

Hours.—Large mills are invariably worked with a day and night shift, the machinery, unless overtime is worked, being stopped from Saturday at 1 P.M. to Monday at 6 A.M. Previous to 1890 the recognized hours for a week's work were sixty-one; in that year they were reduced at the request of the union, and throughout the London trade they are now ten and a half on the first five days of the week, and seven and a half on Saturday, making in all fifty-nine. At the same time a rise in wages and a higher rate of pay for overtime were generally conceded; overtime which had previously been paid for at the same or in some cases a lower rate than ordinary time, was now generally reckoned as time and a quarter; the rise in wages varied much from mill to mill. One master gave the men in all sections an additional 2*s* a week; others raised the pay for each section in proportion to the wages then current. In some mills the higher rates have been maintained, but in many, new hands seem generally to have been engaged at the old level, though the increased pay for overtime is still said to be universal. Overtime in mills is very general, and probably there are few men who

do not on an average earn 3*s* weekly in addition to their ordinary wage.

In all mills one and a half hours are allowed for meals; warehousemen and packers generally go out, but machine men have their food brought in to them and eat it when they can, the meal hours being counted to them as overtime.

Regularity.—The trade is to some extent slack in hot weather, but few if any permanent hands are dismissed; when work is slack various jobs are found for them about the mill in cleaning, &c. In busy times it may be necessary to take on a few extra hands to unload barges, or for other labourer's work; but these men, who are paid by the day, would not be described as millers: they belong as a rule to the class who prefer casual jobs to regular work.

Method of learning.—Apprenticing in this, as in so many other trades, has quite died out in London. As to whether this is desirable there is some difference of opinion; on one hand, we are assured that any man can master the duties required from the modern operative in a few weeks, while from other sources—masters as well as men—we are told that much of the work is of a most responsible character, and that no man can, for instance, be trusted as a roller man until after years of experience in a mill. But though some of the individual masters recognize that the work requires skill and judgment on the part of the operatives, collectively they repudiate such an assumption. In 1893, a National Workmen's Exhibition of British Skilled Industries was held in London; a deputation of working millers waited on the Secretary of the London Master Millers' Association, with a request for their co-operation in securing an exhibit which should show the public that the skill and workmanship of English millers was at least equal to that of foreign millers; the association, however, "did not favour the scheme, their opinion being that the quality of the flour produced from any given wheat would be more the result

of the skill and enterprise of the master miller and engineer than that of the operatives."

Health.—With the stone grinding system the trade was certainly unhealthy; a great deal of flour was always floating in the air, and the men suffered considerably from lung diseases. Now little flour dust finds its way out of the machines, and the health of the operatives in the manufacturing department has accordingly much improved. In the wheat cleaning department, however, it has not yet been found possible to eliminate from the air an invisible dust known as "stive," which, in the process of cleaning, comes from the husk; the men employed in this branch are, therefore, still for the most part rather sickly and much subject to lung diseases.

Of the men actually employed in the manufacturing process, if not throughout the mills generally, far the larger proportion appear to be countrymen, and those masters whom we have seen with one accord assure us that they much prefer them to Londoners.

General Condition of the Trade.—Owing to the enormous importations of American flour the trade has for some years been in a depressed condition. At present, however, there are signs of a revival. English millers are underselling their American rivals, and many American mills have been closed. But though some of the trade which had been lost has returned to this side of the Atlantic, the miller does not appear to be materially in a better position in consequence. The Americans kept their offal for home consumption, and the increased output of English mills has led to a fall in the price of offal which has seriously affected the miller's profits. But if the masters have gained little by the decrease of American importation, it must clearly be a good thing for English labour. One large London mill, which had been closed for some time, has been re-opened this year, and there seems no reason to suppose that English millers will not

in the future be able to hold their own against foreign competition.

As in other trades, the tendency is for business to fall into the hands of the large firms, and few mills are now successful which are not fitted with the most modern appliances and conducted on a large scale.

Organization.—The Millers' National Union, founded on September 21st, 1889, has four branches in London, open to all "workers engaged in the milling industry," *i.e.* it is not confined to machine men. At the close of 1894 there were 637 members in the seventeen branches, of whom 154 belonged to London. As with so many of the unions founded at the time of the great Dock strike, the numbers have steadily declined, and the union is now in a far from strong position. There seems reason to believe that this weakness is due more to apathy on the part of the men than to the hostility of the masters, some of whom are certainly in favour of the principle of unionism. The programme which it is the object of the union to realize includes "a fifty-four hours' week, time and a half for overtime, double pay for Sundays and Bank Holidays, a uniform rate of pay for each section throughout the trade, and all mills to be made as safe and healthy as possible."

The union offers strike, out of work, and accident benefit.

Masters are associated in the London Master Millers' Association.

Oil Millers.

Our information as to oil millers or seed crushers, as they are more usually called in the trade, is rather scanty. Such particulars as we have obtained, and the evident reluctance on the part of employers to assist our inquiry, lead us to suppose that the trade in London certainly, and probably at other centres where it is carried on, is not altogether in a healthy condition. Heavy import duties on oil on the Continent and in America check the export of the

article; while, on the other hand, oil and oil-cakes are imported in enormous quantities from countries which protect the industry at prices which make it exceedingly difficult for the English crushers to compete.

Though the processes vary to some extent according to the seed used, the general method of seed crushing is as follows :—The seeds are first screened or sifted to remove impurities. The screened seeds are then crushed between iron rollers revolving in different directions, and subsequently ground between stones to a thick oleaginous paste. In some instances the oil is pressed out of this paste whilst cold; in the majority of cases, however, the paste is heated before being placed in bags of cloth, which are subjected to the action of a hydraulic press, thus extracting the oil and leaving a board or plank which is known as oil-cake. The edges, which have escaped pressure, are pared off and placed once more under the press. During the last ten years there has been an almost universal change in the form of press used; the "stamper" being supplanted by the Anglo-American press, with which the process is quicker and more automatic than under the old system. On the old plan, about two tons of cake were turned out by three men in twelve hours; under the new conditions the same number of men can make about eight tons in twelve hours. The introduction of the new process, and the closing of several mills, owing to the depressed condition of the trade, have led to a great diminution in the number employed in the business in London.

Wages.—The workmen employed in the mills are known as pressmen, moulders, grinders, and parers. Pressmen earn on an average about 32*s* a week, moulders 26*s*, grinders 22*s*, and parers, who as a rule are lads, from 18*s* to 20*s*. In addition to these men a considerable number are employed outside the mills in unloading seed and delivering cake and oil, at wages which range from 24*s* to 30*s* a week. Throughout the trade generally a very large

majority of the men earn, when at work, from 20*s* to 30*s* a week.

Hours.—The mills are started at 12 o'clock on Sunday night and run continuously till 2 o'clock on Saturday, the men working in two shifts of twelve hours each. An hour is allowed for meals, so that the total hours for the week are sixty-two and a half. The mills are arranged to turn out so many "sets" per hour, and there is an interval of a few minutes between each "set," which reduces the actual amount of labour during the hours of work. In the mills as a rule there is no overtime, but an extra payment is made if the number of sets is increased. Among the men who are loading or unloading and delivering, overtime is not uncommon, and prior to 1889 it was usual for men after working for twelve hours in the mill to be engaged in loading or unloading barges of seed or cake perhaps for another six hours; for this they were paid at the rate of 5*d* an hour. Since 1889, when there were strikes in several mills, this overtime has largely ceased, but it is still prevalent to some extent, those engaged in such work being now paid at piece rates.

Regularity, &c.—From the beginning of September to the end of April is the busy season, work being slack in summer owing to the small demand for oil-cake for feeding cattle. In slack times some of the men no doubt are discharged, but apparently not a large number; it is more usual to divide the work as equally as possible among the regular hands, who may only get three or four days' employment in the week.

There are no apprentices. The work can be learnt by an intelligent man in a few weeks.

Health.—As to the influence of the trade on health there is some conflict of opinion. There is no question that unless the mills are well ventilated they become at times almost unbearably hot, and the men complain that in many cases the ventilation is inadequate. On the other hand, the

scent of the oils is stated to be good for diseases of the chest. The work of those engaged in unloading seeds is certainly less healthy than that of the mill hands; most of the seeds are dusty, with the usual result that the men suffer from pulmonary diseases; they are supposed to wear respirators, but it is said that great difficulty is experienced in inducing them to take this precaution.

Trade Organization.—In the year 1889 a large number of oil millers joined the Dockers' Union, and strikes were organized at two of the largest mills; in one case the men were successful and a general rise of wages was granted; while the employees of a second mill received a rise of 20 per cent. without a strike; in the third case, however, the men were defeated, being obliged, after a strike of four months' duration, which cost the union £1700, to resume work on the old terms. In the cases in which wages were advanced they have we believe since fallen back to the old level.

But though in the matter of pay the action of the union was not altogether successful, it seems that in many mills the conditions of labour have been improved since 1889. Excessive overtime has been largely stopped, the time allowed for meals has been extended, and sanitary arrangements have generally been improved.

Oil Refiners and Boilers.

Though in some cases oil millers are also refiners, the two trades are not as a rule carried on together. The refining of oil is more generally allied with the manufacture of paints, but there are a few refiners who devote themselves chiefly to the production of lubricating oils. The number of skilled workmen engaged in the trade is very small; a few oil boilers and foremen, who must know something of the process of refining, earn from 30*s* to 50*s* a week; but the majority of the men are employed in filling

and rolling casks, and their wages do not on the average exceed 24*s* a week.

Hours of work are from 6 to 6, with an hour and a half for meals.

The workers in oil refineries are said to be unusually contented with their position, and the trade has, so far, been free from unions, strikes, and other manifestations of the modern spirit.

Manufacturers of Sauces, Condiments, Vinegar, and Pickles.

Of those employed in this section, amounting according to the census to only 823, we have been able to obtain few particulars. There are one or two large establishments for the manufacture of mustard and vinegar; sauces and pickles are seldom the sole product of a factory, but are made generally in conjunction either with jams or essence of meat. The figures of the census show that the majority of those employed in making these various articles are either women or lads, with the natural result that wages are low. In each factory, no doubt, a certain number of men are employed, and their earnings seem to range from 12*s* to 36*s* a week, the vast majority lying between 20*s* and 30*s*. Women earn from 5*s* to 15*s* a week, the average probably, taking the year through, not being over 10*s*.

Wages Statistics.

Of the 1377 adult workmen we have wages returns for 852, employed by eleven firms as under:—

Oil Millers and Refiners	4
Corn Millers	4
Pickle and Sauce-makers	2
Sugar Refiner	1

To these have been added particulars of fifty-seven men taken from returns in other sections, making 909 in all. The earnings of these men in an average week are as follows:—

Below 20*s*.	108,	or 12	per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*.	314	,, 34½	,,	Under 30*s*, 72½ per cent.
25*s* ,, 30*s*.	234	,, 26	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*.	99	,, 11	,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*.	81	,, 9	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*.	48	,, 5	,,	30*s* and over, 27½ per cent.
45*s* ,, 50*s*.	11	,, 1	,,	
50*s* and upwards.	14	,, 1½	,,	
	909	,, 100	,,	

Returns made to the Board of Trade in 1886 by ten firms for 420 adult males, showed 63 per cent. earning under 30*s*, and 37 per cent. with 30*s* and over.

As to the earnings of those who are not heads of families, we have returns for 243 lads and boys, of whom 29 per cent. earn 12*s* and over, and 71 per cent. less than 12*s*.

Social Condition.

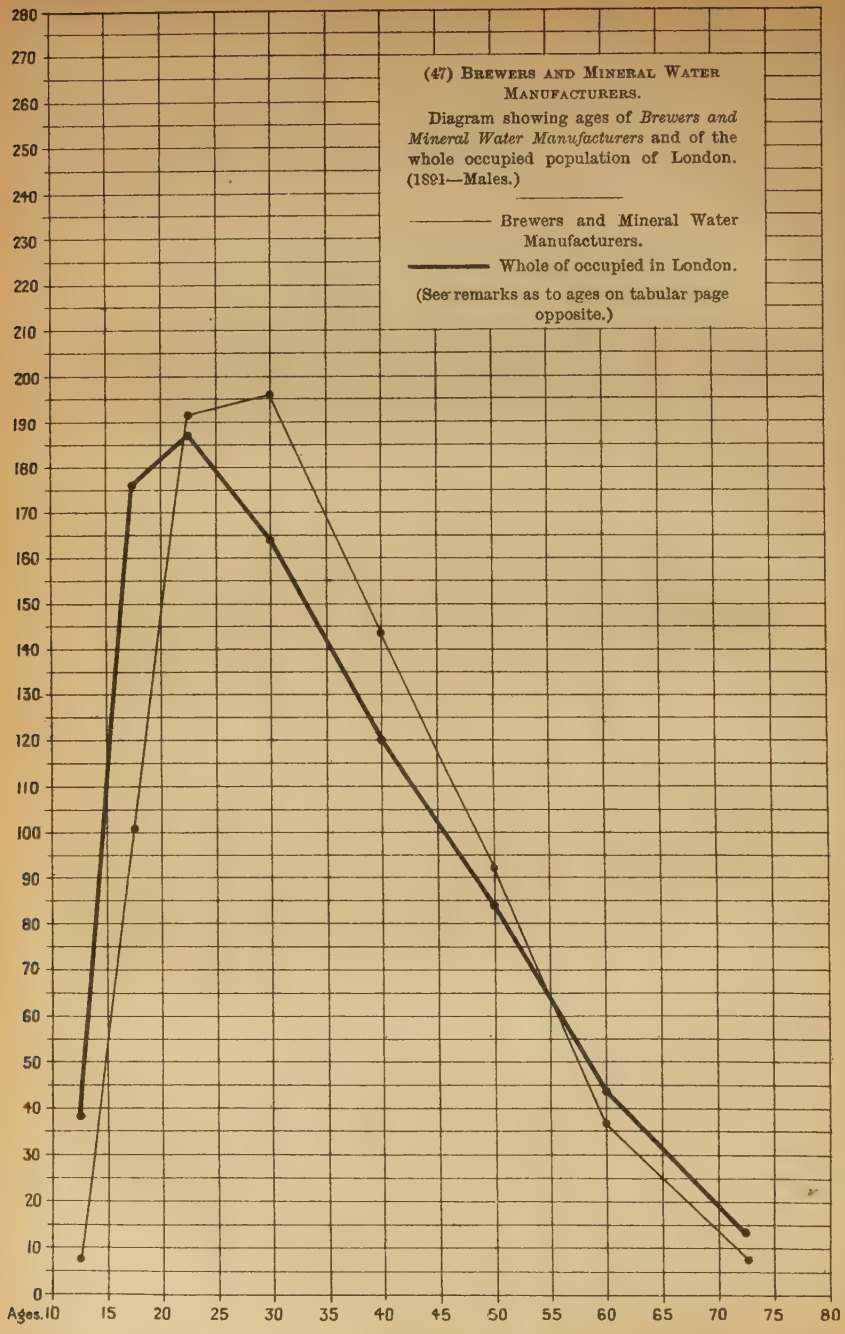
Of the 1377 adult men employed, about 1150 come under social classification as heads of families. Of the sample tested, 46½ per cent. earn less than 25*s* a week compared with 39½ per cent. who live under crowded conditions; 37 per cent. earn from 25*s* to 35*s* against 29 per cent. who live one or two in a room; and 16½ per cent. earn over 35*s*, whereas 31½ per cent. are in the central classes, as follows:—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life.

Earnings as returned.				*Classification of Population.*			
Under 20*s*	108,	or 12	per cent.	3 or more in each room	680,	or 13½	per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*	314	,, 34½	,,	2 to 3 ,,	1300	,, 26	,,
25*s* ,, 30*s*	234	,, 26	,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	1450	,, 29	,,
30*s* ,, 35*s*	99	,, 11	,,	Less than 1 ,,			
35*s* ,, 40*s*	81	,, 9	,,	More than 4 rooms	1570	,, 31½	,,
40*s* ,, 45*s*	48	,, 5	,,	4 or more persons to 1 servant			
45*s* ,, 50*s*	11	,, 1	,,				
50*s* and over	14	,, 1½	,,				
	909	,, 100	,,		5000	,, 100	,,
				Employers' families and servants	800		
					5800		

The discrepancy between these figures is chiefly due to the fact that in our returns are included a number of men who do not appear here in the census, but are no doubt included with general labourers. As these men are for the most part permanently employed, and are as necessary a part of the industry as those who alone figure in the census, our returns give a picture of the social condition of these trades probably more reliable than that derived from the official figures. It should be noted, moreover, that one if not two of the trades included are in a decaying condition, and that in such cases the employees are usually in poorer circumstances than the number of rooms they still occupy would seem to indicate.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



CHAPTER II.

BREWERS, MINERAL WATER MAKERS, &c. (*Section* 47.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

s Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
wer, malt-	21	207	2841	258	3327
ger beer, da water,&c.	240	148	624	57	1069
TOTAL....	261	355	3465	315	4396

diagram shows that those employed in section are mostly in the prime of life; ratively few being included of either or old.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	2779	Heads of Families, 2803.
	Females.....	24	
Birthplace	In London .... 39 %	1093	
	Out of London.. 61 %	1710	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 7 %	215	
	Employed..... 91 %	2540	
	Neither ..... 2 %	48	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	2803	2458	7600	505	13,366
Average in family..	1	·88	2·71	·18	4·77

DISTRIBUTION.

	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
	716	993	1641	4396

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part II.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1908	14·3
2 & under 3 ,,	3103	23·3
1 & under 2 ,,	3641	27·2
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	3509	26·3
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	345	2·6
All others with 2 or more servants ..	335	2·5
Servants	505	3·8
	13,366	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	45 %	27 %	37½ %
Not ,, ..	55 %	73 %	62½ %

DISTRIBUTION.

East ..	Inner 3059 / Outer 337	3396
North	Inner 532 / Outer 1394	1926
West ..	Inner 755 / Outer 867	1622
Central	Inner 1422	1422
South-East	Inner 624 / Outer 1681	2305
South-West	Inner 1278 / Outer 1417	2695
		13,366

Inner 7670, or 57 %
Outer 5696, or 43 %

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

ltster, barm, yeast, maker, dealer, rmenter, vatman, &c.; botanic brewer, rb-beer maker.

rated water, sherbet maker, bottler, irer, lime-juice dealer.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all Ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
wer, maltster	167	7	207	2909	12	23	2	3327
ger beer, soda water, &c.	94	4	148	559	234	28	2	1069
TOTAL.....	261	11	355	3468	246	51	4	4396
	272		4069			55		

Proportion of Employers to Employed–1 to 15.

Brewers.

In the matter of beer, London is practically independent of supplies from the outside. There is no doubt a certain amount imported from Burton and Edinburgh, and a small quantity is also exported. But on the whole it is true to say that London brews and drinks her own beer.

The total production of beer in the United Kingdom for the year ending September 30th, 1895, amounted to nearly 32½ million standard barrels, and of this total London was responsible for over six million barrels.* Hence it seems that the Metropolis both brews more and consumes more than her fair share of this liquid.

The census enumerates only 3327 persons in this section, and includes under the heading "brewer, maltster," those directly employed in the processes of turning barley into malt and malt into beer, and also such men as herb-beer makers, horehound beer manufacturers, and yeast makers. There are, however, very few maltsters in London, for most brewers obtain their malt from the country, while those under the somewhat fancy titles of herb, botanic and horehound beer brewers, more properly belong to the second portion of this chapter, which deals with the manufacture of mineral waters.

There are a few distillers' and bakers' yeast merchants, but the number is a small one, and, apart from those in breweries, under one hundred men are employed in washing and treating yeast in London.

Practically speaking, the three thousand men here returned are occupied in breweries, which, in addition, find

* The exact figures for the London district (obtained through the courtesy of Sir Alfred Milner, K.C.B., Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue) for the year ending September 30th, 1895, were 6,064,669 barrels at a standard gravity of 1·055, and for the whole country 32,444,114 barrels. In bulk this represents a larger amount than is actually consumed—reckoned for London by a large brewer at 15 per cent. in excess—because a barrel brewed of double standard strength would be counted as two barrels by the Revenue authorities.

employment for a very large body of men who are included in other sections. The number actually engaged in the conversion of malt into beer is comparatively a small one. A brewery is the centre of a circle within which all the industries connected with the production and distribution of malt liquor are gathered. Once started with his buildings, machinery, horses, carts, barrels, backs and vats, &c., a London brewer will keep upon his regular staff a large number of men for the repair or further increase of his plant. Work is put out by all to a greater or less extent, but the larger the brewery the more completely is it self-sufficient. In a large business between four hundred and seven hundred men will be maintained, in a medium-sized one between two hundred and four hundred, and in a small one between fifty and two hundred. Very few of the London breweries employ under one hundred men, and, as years go on, the tendency is for the larger to absorb the smaller houses. A fair-sized business, in addition to brewhouse men, cellarmen, yardmen, coopers, finings makers, draymen, and trouncers—who are more especially brewers' men—will have sawyers, carpenters, sign painters and sign writers, back-makers, engineers, engine-drivers, furnace repairers, smiths, wheelwrights, coppersmiths, plumbers, gasfitters, millwrights, house painters, bricklayers, carmen, farriers, stablemen, harness repairers, rope menders, and, if they bottle their own beer, there will be also bottle fillers, washers, and labellers.

Covering perhaps many acres of ground a brewery in London is usually hidden away in back streets, cobble-paved, of mean aspect. Its outside is always unpretentious, and sometimes even forbidding. Few, if any, of its windows look out upon the road, and its high brick walls frown sightless on the passengers beneath. In this it forms a strong contrast to the public-house, which with florid decoration, gas lamps and much outward show, fills as commanding a position as possible at the corner of some

crowded thoroughfare. The brewery is content to remain behind the scenes, and were it not for occasional delicious whiffs from hops and steaming grains, the presence of these large factories in our midst might pass unnoticed.

The appearance of a loaded van, drawn by two or three magnificent horses, points, however, to an opening in the blank wall. You enter, and after the gloom outside, all is light and activity within.

Process of Brewing.—Beer is, roughly speaking, an infusion of hot water and crushed malt, which is afterwards boiled with hops, allowed to become cold, and then made to ferment. Water, however, is never mentioned by name in a brewery. Among the men it is by custom called "liquor," and a small fine is often exacted from those who by chance speak of it otherwise.*

The process of manufacture is shortly as follows:—

The malt, which is barley that has been germinated and then parched, is received in sacks from the maltster; it is then stored in malt cases at the top of the brewery whence it falls by its own weight into the rolling-mills, where it is crushed. Crushed malt is called grist, and as such is ready for brewing.

The grist is mixed with highly heated "liquor," in large vessels called mash-tuns, and the coloured infusion which results—now known as sweet wort—is drained off into receiving tanks named underbacks, which are placed underneath the mash-tuns; thence it is pumped to coppers, where the hops are added and the mixture is boiled, and, after that, passes away as bitter or beer wort to the coolers and refrigerators, where it is cooled before the fermenting process takes place. The coolers are generally at the very top of the brewery and

* To show the force of this custom a favourite story among brewers is that of the passenger on board a Thames steamboat from Greenwich, who was heard to declare to his neighbour that in summer he seldom journeyed to town by rail, as it was so much pleasanter to do so by "liquor."

have lattice openings to the outer air in lieu of windows. From the coolers the wort descends to the fermenting vessels, where a small quantity of yeast is added to set up the fermentation. Six pounds' weight of yeast added to a proper amount of wort will cause about 600 lbs. to be carried by foaming bubbles to the top of the different vessels. This is skimmed off and pressed dry, and brewers' yeast is the result.

From the fermenting vessels the beer, as it now is, passes to the "settling backs," where more yeast rises and the lees sink, leaving the bright beer in the centre ready for racking off and storing in the barrels placed in the cellar below. As far as possible the different processes take place one above the other so that the liquid and ingredients may fall into their different receptacles by the force of gravitation. Where grain and hops have to be moved up to a height or from one store-house to another, it is done almost invariably by "jacobs," or endless travelling chains, to which small pockets are attached. In a brewery there is as much machinery and as little hand labour as possible.

From beginning to end a brew of the light beer or "running ale," which is the Londoner's drink *par excellence*, will take from five to seven days. Brewed one week, it is generally drunk the next or allowed at most one week to rest. With each barrel a certain quantity of "finings," or isinglass dissolved in sour beer, is sent out. This the publican pours into the casks on their arrival, and, as it sinks, it carries all the remaining impurities to the bottom and leaves the beer transparent for the consumer.

Of porter, which is practically a weak form of stout, less is drunk every year. This used to be the working-man's beverage, but now he prefers "fourpenny" ale. Stout is stronger and more expensive, and is still looked on with favour by those who can afford it. They are both brewed much in the same way as beer, but to give flavour

and colour an addition is made of malt that has been roasted brown or black like coffee-berries.

Seasons.—The summer months and the weeks preceding the general holidays are the busiest times of the year for running ales, while October and November are the months in which the stronger stock ales are brewed. During the winter there is a steady demand until the weather becomes very cold. Then drinkers are inclined to take spirits instead, and the hard frosts in the early part of this year (1895) affected brewers' deliveries in a marked way. But whether busy or slack there is always work found for the men. A few extra may be taken on in summer, but, as a rule, both the same number and the same men are kept on from season to season and from year to year. In no other manufacturing industry, probably, does such regularity of employment obtain; and thus in no other does the nominal weekly wage when multiplied by fifty-two represent so nearly the total income earned by the men in the course of a year.

This can be clearly seen from the table given in our wages statistics (p. 134) of the actual money drawn by all the men employed in two representative London breweries, which, by the great courtesy of the principals, we have been allowed to publish *in extenso*.

Wages.—At the head of a brewery are from one to four brewers, who are the only persons employed who are strictly entitled to the name. They are educated men and are paid high salaries. It is upon their skill and judgment that a successful brew depends. Below them come those engaged in executing their orders. Those on the stage, or stagemen as they are called, are occupied in the brewhouse in the actual operations of brewing, and earn from 25*s* to 29*s* per week, though a few make more (30*s* to 33*s*), and a few less (21*s* to 25*s*).

The money of store-house and cellar-men, who "rack" the beer—*i.e.* fill the casks and stow them away—varies

from 24*s* to 30*s* per week, the higher sum being allowed to those whose duty it is to go round and give the last "fill-up" to the barrels with beer from a can. The ease with which they can help themselves is the reason why only the more trustworthy among the men are chosen for this job.

Outside the brewhouse there are the yardmen, who receive and wash the empty casks, and make between 21*s* and 28*s*; and in the stables, the stablemen earn about the same amounts.

Draymen make good money, but their earnings vary more widely with the season than those of any other class employed in a brewery. Each firm seems to have its own method of payment. In some, the men receive a weekly wage; in others, they are paid entirely piece-work, according to the number of empty barrels they bring home; in others, a small weekly wage is given in addition to earnings by piece-work; and in others again, this fixed wage is supplemented by payment both by the number of empty barrels brought back and the number of journeys made. There is still another method, by which all the money made by the draymen is pooled and divided amongst them in different ratios depending on length of service.

The reason of these intricate systems is to be found in the difficulty that brewers experience in having their empty barrels returned to them in good condition. A drayman will hunt up his empties before the dregs in them have become stale and bring them back sweet and sound if he knows that his earnings depend upon it, and in the same way he will be more eager to be quick out and home again if he is paid something extra as journey money.

Draymen are generally divided into three or four classes. A man in the first class will earn from 63*s* in a busy to 35*s* in a slack week, and average 43*s*. A man in the second class will average throughout the year 38*s*, and in the third class 32*s*. With each drayman a trouncer is sent out to help to load and unload. Trouncers hope in due time to

become full-blown draymen, and are allowed to drive the empty waggons home and so learn their business. They earn between 24*s* and 30*s* per week. Both drayman and trouncer often live during the day at the charge of the customers whom they serve, so that the mid-day dinner seldom costs them anything and their "liquid" refreshment never.

Broadly speaking it may be said that, with the exception of draymen, all the men essential to brewing establishments are first-class labourers. As a rule they start at 24*s* and they rise to about 35*s* in accordance with length of service, and the number of vacancies in the ranks of the more highly-paid men above them.

It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the earnings of coopers, engineers, &c., as, though employed in fairly large numbers, they have already been considered separately in the chapters given up especially to them.

Hours.—Excepting for men belonging to the organized trades there are no regular hours in a brewery. Work begins in the morning at 5 or 6 o'clock, and nominally ends at 5 or 6 in the evening; and on Saturdays between 2 and 5 P.M. When a new man asks how long he must work, he is told "until the work is done." The hour of leaving off varies with the seasons and the nature of the different beers that are brewed, and also with the judgment shown by the foreman in apportioning the work to be done. A gang may be summoned in the night to cleanse the fermenting vessels if fermentation has taken place more slowly or more quickly than the head brewer expected. In some places regular night shifts are worked or overtime rates allowed, but it is not usual. Within the brewery the average hours per week seem to range between fifty and sixty-four.

Of all the men employed, draymen work the longest hours. These are the tired sleepy men who may be met at almost any hour of the day or of a summer night, driving out their full or returning with their empty barrels. One of them, either drayman or trouncer, is usually to be seen

asleep among the casks which make up the load. To some extent they are themselves responsible for the time they are out. What with the hospitality proffered to them and the necessity of resting their horses, the temptations and excuses for loitering are strong and often irresistible. One firm returns the hours as varying from sixty-four to ninety-two in a slack week, and from seventy-four to 101 in a busy one. In consideration of these long hours, another firm allows its men one day off in the week provided they have not an extra press of business. Draymen out means horses out, so that stablemen and horse-keepers, who have to wait until their teams are in, have uncertain hours also. For all these men there can, in a busy week, be little actual sleep in bed and at home. Indeed, the nature of their life is such that draymen are, as a rule, past work between the ages of fifty and fifty-five.

Training.—Physical strength rather than skill is required of brewer's men. They usually work in gangs under a foreman, and little beyond the strength necessary to execute his orders is demanded of them. Practice brings a knack which enables the men to work more effectively, but their skill is not the result of any special training.

General remarks.—The great majority of brewers' men come from the provinces. "Countrymen," say their employers, "are steadier and healthier and not so well acquainted with the distractions and ideas of town life as cockneys."

There is no trade organization among the men, and though one was started in 1889-90, and had some success in obtaining a rise of wages from two or three firms, yet it failed from want of internal cohesion. There is a good deal of cliqueism in a brewery, and even members of gangs working in the same place are apt to regard one another with considerable suspicion. They "keep themselves to themselves," and do not mix much with men employed either in their own or in other breweries.

There are two points which perhaps should be mentioned

here, as they are somewhat in the nature of complaints. The first concerns the difficulty of bringing notice of grievances before the principals. Supposing that he is unpopular with his foreman, a man may have much put upon him unnecessarily owing to the system of "work until the work is done." Formerly there was always some member of the firm actually in residence in the brewery, who knew and who was known by the men, and was aware of the treatment and management of the men, in each department. But now that breweries have become Joint Stock Companies, it is the head brewer who is the resident manager, and it is through him only, in the ordinary way, that the principals can be approached.

The second cause of complaint has reference to the long hours of draymen. Draymen are in numbers the largest, and in physique the finest set of men employed. They earn the highest wages, and the independence of their lives must have a charm which, no doubt, goes far to counterbalance any inconvenience on the score of long hours. They do not indeed themselves put it forth as a grievance. Their families are the real sufferers, and wives and children are those who most keenly feel the hardship of the awkward hours which their chiefs are accustomed to keep. If the rule that all orders for delivery must be received twenty-four clear hours before execution, which is often nominally in force, were enforced in reality, a greater evenness in the hours of draymen, and those dependent on them, would result. The publican, who has let his stock run low and telegraphs for instant replenishment, would be the immediate sufferer, but he would soon learn wisdom; and the powerful machinery of Brewers' Hall would see that one firm did not suffer at the expense of another if this were recommended as a general regulation for the London trade.

Tied Houses.—In London, when publicans borrow money on mortgage of their houses from the brewer, there is an unwritten understanding that they deal for beer with that

brewer only. No extra price is charged or inferior qualities supplied to such houses, for if dissatisfied they are quite free to deal with any other who will pay off their mortgage and take it on themselves. According to a return made out by the leading London brewers in 1893, which at that time represented probably five-sixths of the fully licensed houses in the Metropolitan area, 53·5 per cent. were free except for the understanding stated above, 33·7 per cent. were bound by the written terms of their lease, while 12·8 per cent. were entirely free. Since then there has been a tendency towards the absolute purchase of houses by brewers, owing to the competition of newly formed companies with enormous funds at their back, who are willing to pay a very high price for the means of disposing of their wares, and have forced others to do so in self-defence. In the country, on the other hand, publicans are often bound to buy through the brewer nearly everything—beer, tobacco, spirits, mineral waters, &c.—in which they have dealings. In villages there is frequently no alternative place of refreshment. You either take your glass of ale in the one 'Pub,' or must go without altogether. And here it is hinted that the beer supplied is not always of the first quality.

Family Brewers.—There are a few brewers, both in and outside of London, who are mainly occupied in brewing for consumption in small quantities by private families. They rack a large part of their beer into small 4½-gallon casks, and deliver then directly to the houses of their customers. In addition to the usual brewery servants they employ canvassers, not infrequently servants in private families, who are paid by commission on orders obtained, and earn therefore no fixed wage. The wages of men employed by these brewers are not quite so high as those given by the larger London houses. The prosperity of family brewers depends upon the attention they give to the wants of private customers, but the fact that the larger

breweries are beginning to bottle their own beer, and to supply retailers in small quantities through the local grocer, will endanger their existence in the near future; for beer can be brewed more cheaply upon a large than upon a small scale.

Brewers' Hall.—The Brewers' Company is composed almost entirely of London employers, and is noteworthy as being the only City Company which refuses to admit anyone to its Court of Assistants who is not a master actively engaged in the trade which it represents. In addition to the management of schools and other property, this Company settles the price below which its members may not sell their beer. And further, there is an understanding that when a publican wishes to transfer his custom from one brewer to another, no member shall offer to advance a larger sum on the property than his predecessor (also a member) is willing to advance, so that competition between members is limited to the quality of beer supplied.

Meals, Dress, &c.—Custom varies with respect to meals. Men go home if they live near the brewery, or bring their food with them if they live at a distance. By some firms special rooms with conveniences for warming up and even cooking their chop or sausage are set apart for each group of men: while to intercept the prevailing habit of starting the day with a glass of gin, some provide their employees with hot coffee on their arrival in the morning. An hour for breakfast between 8 and 9, a quarter of an hour for lunch at 11, an hour for dinner between 1 and 2, and a quarter of an hour for tea at 4.30 are usual, and those employed have a fixed allowance varying from two pints to as much as three quarts per man per day. Sometimes tickets are given for this beer, which may, if the man likes, be exchanged for bread and cheese or cigars at the tap-house, but this is rare. To every brewery is attached one of those places of hospitable entertainment called tap-houses, where publicans who come to give orders in person or their servants may, in exchange for a ticket handed

them at the office, have a cigar or lunch served them without cost to themselves.

The red knitted caps which all draymen and trouncers used to wear have gone out of fashion, but the men still affect a peculiar coat of their own, made of coarse quilted white flannel or frieze, and are generally to be seen in gaiters and an apron made out of an old hop-pocket. Clogs are provided by the employers for yardmen and cellarmen who work in the damp.

Health.—Nearly all the men in a brewery are of the type known as "full-blooded." They manage to drink a good deal during the day, but they can "hold" so much that a case of drunkenness is rarely seen. Cellarmen, who pass the greater part of the day in the twilight and somewhat stuffy atmosphere of the cellars, and cask-washers in the sheds above, work under conditions which, though rather depressing and damp, are not necessarily unhealthy. Stagemen, on the other hand, who at intervals have to clear out the spent grains, and, when doing so, work inside the steaming mash tuns, suffer from the extremes of heat and cold, especially in winter.

But—to set against these disadvantages—the constitution of the men when they come is generally sound, and all cases of accident or ill-health are referred immediately to the hospitals, to whose funds the brewers are most liberal subscribers.

There are on the whole very few clubs among the men. Sick and burial funds are usual, but are not by any means self-supporting, and in addition to what he may get in this way a man will almost always be allowed one-half of his wages while sick. There is one other privilege which is not uncommon, and which among the London trades is almost peculiar to breweries—all men who have been employed for more than twelve months are allowed a week's clear holiday in the year at full wages, and all brewers have a fair number of pensioners at 10*s* or 12*s* per week on their books.

Altogether a position in a brewery is much sought after, and with the exception of the two rather serious drawbacks mentioned above, any man so engaged may be considered to be fortunate.

Mineral Waters, &c.

The mineral water trade in London, as indeed everywhere, is largely increasing. It has its slack and busy season, but even in winter a good deal of work is now done. The commoner class of work shows the greatest seasonal fluctuation. For the "shop trade" large quantities of cheap stuff are wanted at short notice during the summer months; on the other hand, where hotels, clubs and restaurants or public-houses are supplied the business is more regular, summer and winter, and better quality in the article supplied is connected with better pay as well as more regular work, and with the employment of men rather than women. The best class of mineral waters is sent out in response to orders received by the firm, but the more usual custom is for collectors or travellers to call with vans of supplies and to deliver at the same time. Shops want to buy at once when out of stock, and as the quantity of goods they take at most is not large, their requirements in summer-time are decided by the weather from day to day. The van from which the full bottles are received takes back the empties, and so important an item is the collection of these empties that the salesman (who also drives the van) is paid his commission not on the sales effected, but on the empties returned.

Far more old bottles than new are used, and so in describing this trade we begin with the washing of the returned bottles. This has to be very scrupulously done. They are thrown into tanks to soak, and brushed with a revolving brush and rinsed with fine sprays of water. Time and care are needed, and conscientious work rather than skill is demanded. It is women's work except in a few of

the better class factories where women are objected to owing, it is said, to the irregularity of their attendance and the less efficient character of their work.

The liquid to be bottled is prepared and aerated in cylinders by various scientific methods, and from the cylinders passes under pressure into the bottles. The perfect filling of the bottles to the exclusion of atmospheric air demands considerable skill, whatever method or machine is adopted, and for this work men are generally employed. Where corks are used, each bottler is followed up by a wirer—wiring is generally done by women or girls, and the knack of it is readily acquired. Sometimes, if the bottler is very expert or the machine expeditious, two women will be required to keep pace with one man. When filled and wired, the bottles are "sighted" by being held up to the light or against blue-tinted paper, to see that they contain no speck of dirt or straw. The girls who do this hold up two bottles at a time, one in each hand. There is some risk of bottles bursting when filling or being corked, but more accidents perhaps occur in the sighting process. A little carelessness may allow the bottles to clash together with serious results to face or hands, or even to the arms and body. Wire spectacles are worn to protect the eyes.

The filling of syphons and some patent bottles is more dangerous still, and the women are expected to wear a sort of wire mask or cage over their faces, and the syphon also is placed within a cage. In some factories flannel armlets are provided for the women. We are told, however, that it is with difficulty that they can be induced to observe these precautions. Syphons, after filling, are cleaned or polished with a cloth. Women have been employed at this, but the work is hard, and it is found more economical to employ men. Some slight precautions are again taken against explosion, but, for the comfort of those who introduce this bombshell into their houses, it may be assumed

that those which are inclined to burst have by this time already done so.

To produce ginger beer, boiling water is passed into vats containing ginger, sugar and acids, and is thence strained off to be bottled and barrelled. The method evolves a minute quantity of alcohol, for which the drink is certainly not the worse. Nearly all public-houses sell ginger beer, and many keep it on draught. It is drunk neat, but still more in combination with spirits, "gin and ginger beer" being a favourite drink; or it is mixed with bitter ale when a very light, thirst-quenching beverage is required. As a result of this growing use, it is said that the sale of cider has appreciably diminished.

Prior to filling, the stone bottles are tested by being knocked lightly together, when any crack is betrayed by the sound; if without flaw they are taken in hand by another worker who, with a steel hook, removes pieces of cork from inside. They then go through the process of washing and rinsing already described for glass bottles. The method of filling is different as the liquid is flat when corked and becomes aerated by fermentation.

In addition to the manufacture of soda water, lemonade and ginger beer, mineral water factories make many special kinds of temperance beverages. They also prepare lemon and lime juice, and make syrups of various fruits and chemicals.

As a rule fixed weekly wages are paid. Payment by piece is thought to lead to bad work. Where piece rates are adopted, as is the case in some factories, it is said to have come in with the employment of women, as providing an easier method of control than mere supervision. The earnings of the men do not differ from those in analogous industries (such as chemical workers), and many of those employed are to be counted under other headings, as coopers, carmen, labourers, travellers, &c. The travellers receive a small fixed wage, 20*s* a week with some firms,

but are largely, if not mainly, paid by commission, and generally earn 40*s* to 50*s* a week, one time with another. In a hot summer week it is said that a traveller may make as much as £10 on his sales. It is, however, heavy work, lifting and carrying boxes of bottles, in the processes of loading or delivering, and in busy times an assistant is required, who will probably be paid partly by the traveller. Moreover, there are many expenses (such as treating and the like) incurred in keeping the trade together. The 40*s* or 50*s* named above is the net amount after allowing for these deductions. Bottlers, wirers and sighters, if men, earn from 22*s* to 35*s*; washing counts as labouring work. In factories where women and girls are employed the wages for bottling, wiring, tying, &c., vary from 10*s* to 14*s*. Girls engaged in carrying, washing, &c., earn 6*s* to 10*s* a week.

The regular hours are from 8 A.M. to 7.30 P.M. with the usual allowance for dinner and tea, and a half holiday on Saturday. But to meet the seasonal fluctuations in the amount of work, the hours in some factories are reduced in winter and extended by overtime in summer, the same numbers being employed all the year round. Otherwise a difference must be made in the number of hands. In addition to dismissing extra hands or shortening hours, much time is idled away in the slack season.

Wages Statistics.

In these trades 4396 persons are employed—3327 in brewing, and 1069 in mineral water manufacture. Of these, 3099 and 681, or 3780 in all, are adult men. Returns have been received respecting 3577 persons, as under:

Brewers.....10 } = 17 firms, employing 3211 men,
Mineral Water Manufacturers ..... 7 } 201 women, and 166 boys.

These industries, which are quite distinct in their conditions and methods, are best treated separately.

Brewers.—The ten firms of brewers between them gave employment to 2953 men. Only two-fifths of these are engaged directly in brewing, and would be included with this group in the census. The remaining three-fifths include representatives of many trades, of whom the draymen,* coopers, and men belonging to the building trades are numerically the most important. Brewers' draymen, though not reckoned as "brewers," are peculiar to breweries, and have therefore been separated from "other workers" in the table below, where an analysis is given of the average weekly earnings of all those employed by the ten firms already mentioned.

Average Weekly Earnings.	Brewers (according to Census definition).	Draymen and Trouncers.	Other Workers.	Total of men employed in Breweries.
Under 20*s*.....	62 or 5 %	34 or 5½ %	38 or 3½ %	134 or 4½ %
20*s* and under 25*s*...	352 ,, 29 ,,	115 ,, 19 ,,	105 ,, 9½ ,,	572 ,, 19½ ,,
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	516 ,, 42 ,,	179 ,, 29 ,,	348 ,, 31½ ,,	1043 ,, 35½ ,,
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	198 ,, 16 ,,	136 ,, 22 ,,	168 ,, 15 ,,	502 ,, 17 ,,
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	50 ,, 4 ,,	41 ,, 6½ ,,	128 ,, 11½ ,,	219 ,, 7½ ,,
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	23 ,, 2 ,,	61 ,, 10 ,,	157 ,, 14 ,,	241 ,, 8 ,,
45*s* ,, 50*s*...	10 ,, 1 ,,	23 ,, 3½ ,,	101 ,, 9 ,,	134 ,, 4½ ,,
50*s* and over.....	12 ,, 1 ,,	28 ,, 4½ ,,	68 ,, 6 ,,	108 ,, 3½ ,,
	1223 ,, 100 ,,	617 ,, 100 ,,	1113 ,, 100 ,,	2953 ,, 100 ,,

Of those engaged in the manufacture of beer, three-fourths earn less than 30*s* a week. The most highly-paid

* In the census returns brewers' draymen are included with "Carmen." (See Part IV., chap. II.)

men are the skilled mechanics, included with "other workers," and some of the draymen.

The Board of Trade received particulars of wages (in 1886) from twenty-four firms employing 3184 persons, and details were given of the earnings of 2438 men. Of this number 66 per cent. earned under 30*s* a week, as compared with 59½ per cent. in our returns. This slight discrepancy is fully accounted for by the fact that the smaller breweries are more fully represented in the Board of Trade returns than they are in ours.

There is little seasonal variation in the number of men employed at a brewery, and this little, whether in numbers or earnings, is mainly with the draymen and the "other workers."

Those engaged in the manufacture of beer are paid a regular weekly wage, which is expected to cover any prolongation of working hours that may be necessary. The greatest fluctuation in earnings occurs amongst the draymen, and in numbers amongst the mechanics and others paid by the hour, as is shown by the following table:—

	Number of Men.		Percentage Reduction.		
	Busy Week.	Slack Week.	In numbers.	In earnings.	Combined.
Our returns (10 firms)—					
Brewing	1230	1216	1	2	3
Draymen	628	605	4	15½	20
Other Workers	1172	1055	10	4½	13½
Together	3030	2876	5	8	11½
Board of Trade returns (21 firms)	3276	3103	5	11½	16

As throwing additional light on the actual earnings of those employed in this industry, we give the subjoined statement of the numbers employed and amounts earned in each department of two large breweries during an entire year:—

Table showing numbers employed and wages paid at two Breweries for the year ended June 30th, 1895.

Branch of Work.	First quarter, July to September.		Second quarter, October to December.		Third quarter, January to March.		Fourth quarter, April to June.		Total amount earned in year by these men.	Average weekly wages of men (calculated on weeks actually worked).	Average No. of weeks worked per man in year.	
	Number of men.	Amount earned.	Number of men.	Amount earned.	Number of men.	Amount earned.	Number of men.	Amount earned.			Wks.	Dys.
		£		£		£		£	£			
Brewers—												
Malt-millers	23	418	23	398	23	408	23	412	1636	27/10½	51	0
Stagemen	38	761	37	763	36	730	36	749	3003	32/1	51	0
Tunmen	49	877	49	862	49	853	49	869	3461	27/4	51	4
Cellarmen	78	1232	83	1284	83	1274	86	1312	5102	24/6	50	3
Yardmen	76	1170	72	1102	69	1075	74	1120	4467	24/6	50	0
Others in brewing	36	584	36	556	34	528	33	529	2197	25/0½	50	3
Total of Brewers	300	5042	300	4965	294	4868	301	4991	19,866	26/3	50	5
Draymen—												
Draymen (1st and 2nd class)	86	2205	85	2070	86	1889	86	2249	8413	38/9½	50	3
Draymen (3rd class), and trouncers	128	2079	132	2020	131	1995	133	2211	8305	25/11½	48	5
Total of Draymen	214	4284	217	4090	217	3884	219	4460	16,718	31/2	49	3
Others—												
Coopers	37	1044	36	1042	37	996	38	1039	4121	44/2	50	2
Wheelwrights	14	289	14	293	14	281	14	289	1152	36/6½	50	3
Millwrights	22	510	26	548	21	488	23	500	2046	38/2	46	4
Copper-smiths	8	180	7	169	8	182	8	190	721	37/3	50	0
Engine-drivers	22	463	21	431	21	422	22	444	1760	32/5	50	3
Stokers	16	327	16	321	16	343	17	307	1298	31/5	50	5
Farriers	10	231	10	229	11	228	11	244	932	36/-	49	2
Horsekeepers	42	785	44	785	44	735	45	786	3091	28/10½	49	0
Building Trades (carpenters, bricklayers, painters, &c.)	104	2125	106	2040	101	1918	114	2289	8372	34/7	45	4
Other workers	2	43	2	43	2	43	2	43	172	32/1	52	0
Total of others in Brewery	277	5997	282	5901	275	5636	294	6131	23,665	34/11	48	0
Total of all regular workers in Brewery	791	15,323	799	14,956	786	14,388	814	15,582	60,249	30/7	49	2
Wages paid to men irregularly employed	—	620	—	631	—	498	—	614	2363			
TOTAL WAGES PAID		15,943		15,587		14,886		16,196	62,612			

The variation here shown between the busiest and slackest quarters is, as will be seen, very small, being, for the regular workers, less than 4 per cent. in numbers (from 814 to 786), and 8 per cent. (from £15,582 to £14,388) in earnings; whilst of a total of £62,600 paid in wages, only £2363 went to odd men. This detailed statement thus fully confirms the results of our general table based on selected busy and slack weeks.

Of the men above returned, 722 worked for these firms throughout the year, and the amounts earned by them are shown below. The other 60 to 80 men represent changes which occurred in the course of the year—men leaving their situation from one cause or another, and new hands taken on in their place:—

Annual Earnings of Men.	Men engaged in Brewing (according to Census definition).		Others employed in Brewery (Draymen, Mechanics, &c.).		All men working in Brewery.	
	Number.	%	Number.	%	Number.	%
£130 and upward	1	—	21	4½	22	3
120 and less than £130 ...	—	—	15	3½	15	2
110 ,, 120 ...	2	1	28	6	30	4
100 ,, 110 ...	4	1½	57	13	61	8½
90 ,, 100 ...	9	3	46	10½	55	7½
80 ,, 90 ...	25	9	67	15	92	13
70 ,, 80 ...	46	17	76	17	122	17
60 ,, 70 ...	140	51	107	24	247	34
50 ,, 60 ...	37	13½	23	5	60	8½
40 ,, 50 ...	11	4	6	1½	17	2½
Under £40	(boy)1	—	—	—	1	—
Totals	276	100	446	100	722	100

It will be noticed that of those directly engaged in brewing, 68½ per cent. earn between £40 and £70 a year—a sum which represents a weekly wage of 18*s* to 25*s*—whilst of those belonging to the other industries included, an almost exactly similar proportion (69½ per cent.) earn £70 or over, giving a weekly average of 30*s* to 50*s*.

Mineral Waters.—In mineral water manufacture the seasonal changes are considerable, and it is difficult to ascertain the average wage. The seven firms making returns employ 258 men, their earnings being as follows:—

Under 20*s*	75, or 29	per cent.	} Under 30*s*, 75 per cent.	
20*s* and under 25*s*...	71 ,, 27½	,,		
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	47 ,, 18½	,,		
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	19 ,, 7½	,,	} 30*s* and over, 25 per cent.	
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	5 ,, 2	,,		
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	9 ,, 3½	,,		
45*s* and upwards ...	32 ,, 12	,,		
	258 ,, 100	,,		

Most of those earning the higher rates would be travellers. Five returns received by the Board of Trade give particulars of 199 men, and of these 85 per cent. earned less than 25*s* a week, and only 6 per cent. received 30*s* or over.

The women and girls earn from 7*s* to 14*s* a week, of whom the majority received 8*s* to 10*s*. Boys' wages have a wider range, from 4*s* to 14*s*, the ordinary wage being from 8*s* to 10*s* a week.

Social Condition.

Of the brewers, 2909 adult men are returned as employed, and of these about 2110 come under classification as heads of families. Comparing the condition of their families with earnings we find 34 per cent. earning less than 25*s* a week, while 40 per cent. are crowded.

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Brewers).

Earnings as returned.		*Classification of Population.*		
Under 20*s*...	62, or 5 per cent.	3 or more to each room,	1410, or 14½ per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*...	352 ,, 29 ,,	2 ,, 3 ,,	2480 ,, 25½	,,
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	516 ,, 42 ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	3060 ,, 32	,,
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	198 ,, 16 ,,	Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant	2700 ,, 28	,,
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	50 ,, 4 ,,			
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	23 ,, 2 ,,			
45*s* and over	22 ,, 2 ,,			
	1223 ,, 100 ,,		9650 ,, 100	,,
		Employers' families and servants	1050	
			10,700	

In many occupations we have seen the effects of uncertainty of employment in a reduction of the workers' standard of comfort. Here we have the opposite case, and find a large section of the people are living in greater comfort than the men's weekly income would ordinarily imply.

Of the 681 adult men engaged in the mineral water trade, about 410 re-appear in the social classification as employed heads of families. Their mode of life may be compared with earnings as under:—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Mineral Water Making).

Earnings as returned.		*Classification of Population.*	
Under 20*s*...	75, or 29 per cent.	3 or more to each room,	500, or 23 per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*...	71 ,, 27½ ,,	2 ,, 3 ,,	620 ,, 28½ ,,
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	47 ,, 18½ ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	570 ,, 26½ ,,
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	19 ,, 7½ ,,	Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms	
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	5 ,, 2 ,,		
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	9 ,, 3½ ,,	4 or more persons to a servant	480 ,, 22 ,,
45*s* and over	32 ,, 12 ,,		
	258 ,, 100 ,,		2170 ,, 100 ,,
		Employers' families and servants.....	500
			2670

The two sets of figures correspond very closely: 51½ per cent. living under crowded conditions, compare with 56½ per cent. earning under 25*s*; 26½ per cent. living one or two persons to a room, with 26 per cent. earning 25*s* and less than 35*s*, while 22 per cent. of the central classes correspond with 17½ per cent. earning 35*s* or over. From this comparison it would seem probable that the irregularity in this trade does not affect the men to the same extent as the younger workers and women.

TOBACCO. (*Section* 48.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Tobacco manuf. & Tobacconists	3925	854	4212	637	9628

The proportionate numbers of males in this trade are below the general average until thirty years of age, when they rise well above the mean. After forty, the age line follows closely that for the whole of employed London. (*See* diagram.) The females, on the other hand, are in their greatest numbers between fifteen and twenty years of age.

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
4530	1358	1539	2201	9628

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Tobacco and snuff making—sorter, stripper, cutter, &c.; cigar making—stripper, bunch maker, sorter, finisher.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	3738	Heads of Families 4143.
	Females	405	
Birthplace	In London 53%	2207	
	Out of London .. 47%	1936	
Industrial Status.	Employer 19%	770	
	Employed 59%	2433	
	Neither 22%	940	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	T
Total	4143	4337	10,286	678	1
Average in family ..	1	1·05	2·48	·16	

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part II.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	2901	14·9
2 & under 3 ,,	3513	18·1
1 & under 2 ,,	3634	18·7
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	7681	39·5
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	816	4·2
All others with 2 or more servants ..	221	1·1
Servants.....	678	3·5
	19,444	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	47%	11%	33%
Not ,, ..	53%	89%	67%

Distribution.

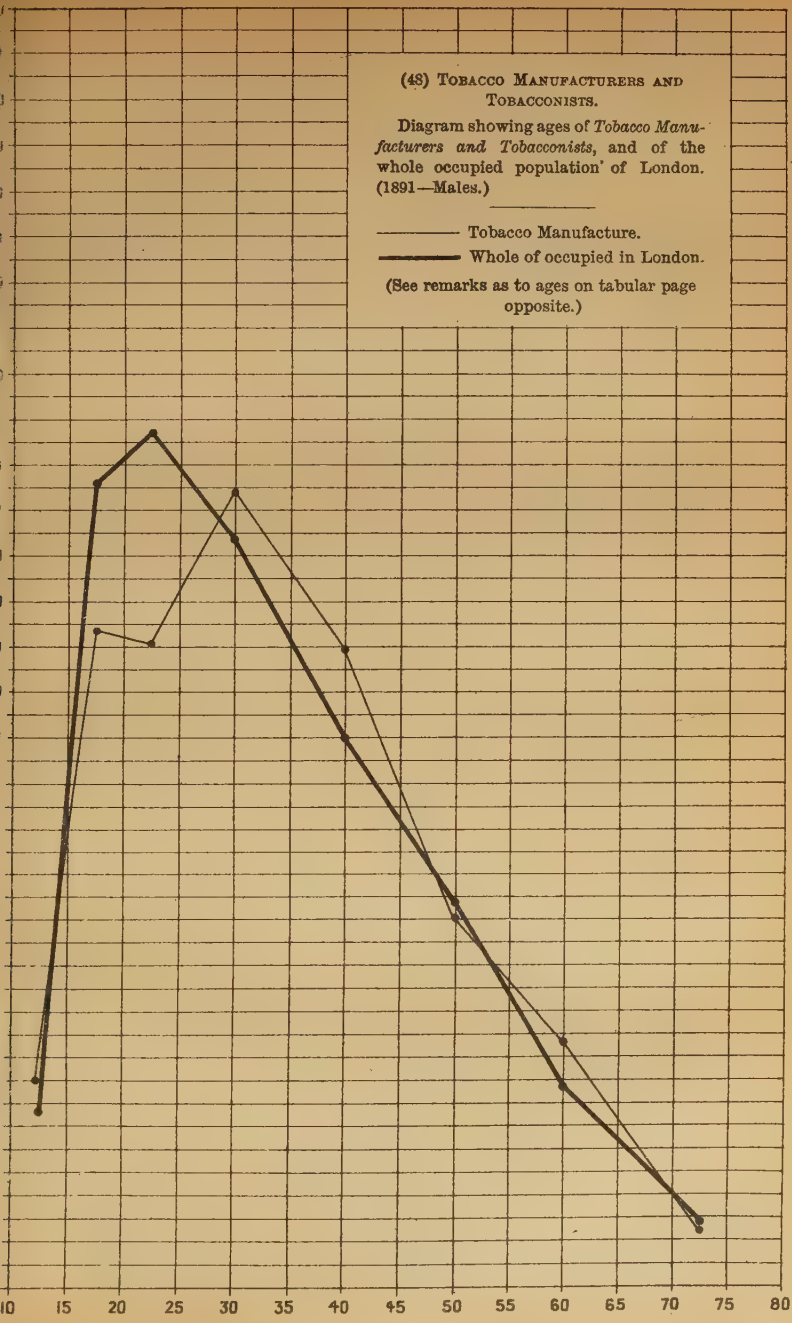
East	Inner	7925
	Outer	630
North	Inner	592
	Outer	2865
West	Inner	249
	Outer	1281
Central Inner		1715
South-East	Inner	242
	Outer	1508
South-West	Inner	1157
	Outer	1280

Inner 11,880, or 61 %
Outer 7564, or 39 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		T
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
Tobacco manufacturers and tobacconists	748	135	854	3188	3466	913	324	9
TOTAL.....	883		7508			1237		
Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 9.								

(For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 88.)



Tobacco Workers.

The wages, training and conditions of those employed in the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco generally, have already been fully described in Volume IV.* in so far as they affected the workers in East London and Hackney during the years 1890-3.

It remains now, therefore, only to mention any changes that have taken place since that time, and to note the fact that the conditions under which the workers in South and West London were and are engaged do not materially differ from those recorded in the earlier volume as prevalent in the eastern and northern districts.

Of the total, 9628, enumerated by the census in this section, 5888 persons are living in North and East London, and 3740 in the southern and western divisions.

Generally speaking (as our age diagram shows), the employees in the tobacco trade are either middle-aged men or young women, the number of the latter being on the increase. Although they are not yet suitable for the highest class of work, women are continually encroaching on the positions once held by males in the manufacture of the lower and medium qualities of cigars and cigarettes. It is alleged that women cannot be relied upon to give the extra attention that a fine tobacco leaf requires, and cannot therefore be trusted with the handling of it. Perhaps it is because they are not themselves smokers that they do not fully realize the difference that a little extra care in manufacture will make to the excellence of a cigar. With this exception, their natural lightness of hand gives to workwomen an initial advantage over the ordinary workman. Great numbers are employed in cigarette making, and the increased demand has favoured the introduction of light machinery of a high productive power. Young men of all classes to-day smoke cigarettes

* *Vide* Vol. IV., pp. 219-238 (or Vol. I. of original edition, pp. 370-388).

to a large extent. Out of doors, at any rate, they are more fashionable than pipes, and less expensive than cigars. As with cigars, the best cigarettes are made by men.

A new departure in the trade which is undoubtedly favourable to consumers has been made by certain manufacturers in recent years, who have started retail shops for the sale of their produce. The relation of the manufacturer to these retailers is not unlike that of the brewer to the publican.

Wages have remained on the same level as before for all classes of work. As far as there has been any change it is to be found in a wider range of earnings. The best men on the best class of work receive rather more than they did formerly. The trade is largely recruited from abroad by Dutchmen, who arrive with a knowledge of their business. The number of boys in London who are learners is not large.

Trade Organization.

Subjoined are particulars of the societies connected with this industry in London :—

Numbers in the London Trade (Census 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.	Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.			
9628	3188	Cigar Makers' Mutual Association (1890).	1200	They absorbed the Cigar Makers' Provident Society in 1890, and the Women Cigar Makers' Association in 1895. Offer Out of work, Strike, Sick, Death, and Emigration benefits. Relations with masters friendly.
		Cigar Sorters' and Bundlers' Mutual Association (1858).	100	Offer Out of work, Sick, and Pension money. Union and non-union men work together. Relations good.
		Tobacco Strippers' Mutual Association (1851).	90	Offer Out of work, Sick, Death, and Emigration money. Minimum wage, 27*s*. Relations good.
		Tobacco Cutters' Trade Society.	200	—
			1590	

The numbers organized, as compared with the total number of adult employed males, show that about 50 per cent. are members of a trade society. But the manufacturing section of the trade is more highly organized than would appear from this, since there are included in the census figures a great many tobacconists' assistants, who would not belong to any of the unions mentioned.

The Cigar Makers' Mutual Association is remarkable from the fact that it admits women to membership, and in addition to the 1200 men has 650 women on its books. Women subscribe 6*d* instead of 1*s* weekly, and receive in return one-half of the benefits given to the men as out of work, strike, and death money; but they are allowed nothing for sickness.

Before 1895, there was a Women Cigar Makers' Union, which was not altogether successful. In spite of levies and help from the men, the society was threatened with financial ruin, and was in danger of dissolution, when amalgamation was suggested. This was voted unanimously by the women and by a small majority of the men. The conditions under which women are admitted are stated in their book of rules as follows:—"There shall be one board of management, a general fund for the whole of the members, a different scale of contributions and benefits for women, and a solemn understanding that in all shops where men are exclusively employed, no women shall be permitted to work unless they receive the same price as the men, which has been a tacit understanding between the two societies since the existence of the women's organization." So far this agreement has worked smoothly.

Out of work and sick pay is from 9*s* to 12*s* per week for stated periods. Death money from 5*s* to £10, depending on length of membership. Pensions are offered by the Sorters and Bundlers; and the Strippers have also lately instituted a superannuation scheme.

The relations of employers with the various societies are

friendly, and it is the recognized custom for those in want of sorters, bundlers, and strippers to send round to the society house for them.

All through the trade there is a marked aversion to the idea of strikes, and there is even a rule—with a saving clause it is true—in one of the society books, to the effect that "This society will under no consideration support men who may strike or leave their work: but should any member consider himself hard treated by his employer he shall bring his case before the society and get what assistance they may deem fit." In case of dispute, the secretary of the society is the recognized mediator, and the men nearly always acquiesce in the terms agreed upon by him. The Cigar Makers' Mutual is the only one of the four societies mentioned which offers a fixed sum to those on strike.

Both the Cigarette Makers' Co-operative Society and the Cigarette Makers' Trade Society, which are mentioned in Volume IV., have come to an untimely end, but they now have a sick benefit club.

Bread Bakers.*

In London, and also in many provincial towns, the baker of bread turns night into day. He works for long hours in an almost tropical temperature, and inhales the gas-laden air of a bakehouse, often, though not always, small and ill-ventilated, and very generally placed below the level of the ground. The work of biscuit makers and confectioners, on the other hand, generally falls in the daytime. Their hours are, as a rule, shorter, and their surroundings more spacious, the bulk of the trade being carried on in factories. Thus, although some bread bakeries are models of construction, and some confectionery is made in old-fashioned premises, there is a very real distinction between the two branches of the trade, and the remarks which now follow will refer only to the baking of bread.

Journeymen bakers, finding the conditions under which they work very hard, and having, as it seems, great difficulty in amending them by combination amongst themselves, turn to the legislature for assistance. They demand the stringent inspection of all bakehouses, and the closing of those which are below the level of the ground. They also ask for the abolition of night-work and Sunday work, and for the establishment by law of an eight-hours' working day. They ask this in the interest of consumers as well as workers, on the ground that bread made in unhealthy conditions is itself unhealthy, but in these demands it is manifestly more particularly the workers who are considered. Legislative interference with this trade in the interest of the *consumer* is no new thing. The comparative absence of it is, indeed, a quite modern innovation. No other trade has been subjected to so many ordinances, regulations and enactments. An "assize of bread" was established in the time of King John; and from that period till the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne the cost of bread was

* The information on which this chapter is based was collected by Mr. Stephen N. Fox.

regulated through the assize, first, according to the price of wheat, and later, according to that of flour. The *weight* of the loaf was increased or diminished as the price of wheat and flour fell or rose, while the *price* remained constant at one penny for the loaf, or one half-penny for the half loaf, of a certain quality of bread, or the baker might keep the weight constant and vary the price, but he could not adopt both plans at once. Nor was it till 1822 that the assize was done away with. It, however, fell gradually into bad odour, both with the trade and with the public; the one being of opinion that the assize acted as an instrument of oppression against fair tradesmen, and the other dissatisfied because they found, or thought, that the price of bread, instead of being kept at a fair rate, was in fact raised by interference.

During the earlier period of the assize, special bread of the very finest flour, called "demesne bread" or *panis domenicus*, and stamped with an effigy of the Saviour, was sold at double the regular price. The ordinary loaves had also their marks, and throughout a long series of enactments the duty of impressing distinctive marks to indicate the quality or origin of the bread was always imposed on the baker. As the old nursery rhyme has it:

> "Pit-a-cake, pat-a-cake, baker's man,
> Bake me a cake as fast as you can,
> Prick it and cross it and mark it with T
> And put it in the oven for Tommy and me."

The very Acts that abolished the assize of bread contain clauses rendering it obligatory to impress the letter M on all loaves made of mixed flour; indeed, penalties might even now be enforced for any infringement of the law in this respect, though they do not assume the precise form of chastisement prescribed in the time of the early Edwards (1291-1307) when, it seems, the offending baker was drawn upon a hurdle from the Guildhall to his own house "through the great streets where there may be most people assembled, and through those that are most dirty," with

the faulty loaf hanging from his neck. Practically in our day the protection of the public is confined to the question of weight. All household bread must be sold by weight. Every customer has a right to see the loaf weighed in his presence, and if it does not turn the scale the baker or purveyor of bread is bound to add a slice from another loaf to make up the deficiency.*

It will be seen that there is plenty of precedent for legislative interference in this trade; or, to put it another way, many legislative experiments in this direction have been tried and have failed. But most, if not all of these, have been made in the supposed interest of the consumer as against the rapacity of the master bakers, and not at all in the interest of the men as opposed to that of their employers. What we have now to consider are the grievances of the men, and these may be divided under two heads: (1) those concerning hours of work and night-work; (2) those concerning unsanitary premises. Each of these will be dealt with in turn, but it will be convenient to give first some account of the manner in which the work is performed.

Process of Manufacture.—There are many descriptions of bread, each being the result of some variation in the methods pursued. Besides the English methods, which differ amongst themselves to some extent, we have, in London, Scotch, German, Austrian, and French bakeries, all

* The absolute fixing of the weight of an ordinary household loaf has sometimes a curious and not altogether desirable effect on its quality. Quality being rigid, and price incapable of fine gradation (as in the poorest districts it can only move by farthings and elsewhere usually goes by half-pence), it follows that small alterations in the value of the loaf must be provided by changes in quality. When flour becomes cheaper, the bakers who compete for the custom of the poor are ready enough to placard their windows with the reduced figure, but when the price of wheat rises, they may find it to their interest to sell a worse article rather than change the price—using inferior flour or employing adulteration of some kind, or, what is still more objectionable, contriving by slack baking to increase the proportion of water left in the bread.

of which make the bread rise by the use of yeast in some form, and there is also the special system from which the Aërated Bread Company takes its name. Besides various plans of fermentation there are ovens of different shapes and different natures, having each their special arrangements for heating or retaining the heat. In a general way it may be said that the longest and most important process is the making of the "sponge." A small quantity of the active yeast is mixed with flour, water and a little salt, and the paste or dough allowed to stand till it is permeated by the rapid growth of the yeast plant, and expanded into a spongy mass by the gaseous emanation of this remarkable growth. The mass works and rises, and, discharging a portion of the gas, falls back, only to rise again. Then, at the proper moment, additional flour, salt and water are added, and by mixing and kneading the true dough is made. This in turn must have time given it, so that once more the ferment may work and the gas be once more formed to leaven the mass. Again, at the proper moment, the loaves have to be shaped, and then forthwith plunged into the heat of the oven, which must be intense enough and sufficiently prolonged to penetrate the loaf, stop the action of the yeast, and cook the bread. The first process—that of starting the ferment, including mixing—may take from eight to twelve hours, according to the weather or other conditions; the second stage, including the kneading, may occupy three or four hours, and the baking itself from half an hour to one and a half hours, as is demanded by the character of the bread—mainly, that is, according to the proportion of water mixed with the flour, but also according to the size of the loaves and also whether they are closely packed in the oven or placed in open order. There are differences of method—some Scotch bakers introduce a middle stage, making the first a rather stiff sponge and afterwards reducing this to a liquid paste to complete the

fermentation before adding the mass of the flour—but in the essential facts, where fermentation is employed, one process is very much like another. As to the ovens, the object in every case is to retain the heat and steam as far as possible, and so make it feasible to deal with successive batches of bread without much delay. The Scotch ovens have a thick stone floor and a high crown, both being calculated to reduce radiation, and serve as reservoirs to retain the heat, and are provided with a small coke furnace which can be readily blown up or damped down as required. On the Vienna system the actual baking is done by the introduction of super-heated live steam into a small oven, surrounded by hot air. The newer English ovens are heated entirely from outside; the older fashioned ones, low in the crown with the fire set in the thickness of the wall, being superseded because of the time lost in re-heating between the batches. They, however, are themselves a vast improvement on those common in the country, and still to be found in London, in which the fire is made of wood in the very oven itself, and the embers raked out through the large door, leaving a still glowing cavern which must cool a great deal before the loaves can be safely consigned to it. Such changes come slowly—London bakers, in common with all Englishmen, hardly ever take properly to a new thing till it is, in fact, no longer new. Moreover, ovens are expensive, and although old styles may be inconvenient they are a little the cheaper, and when once built it would be expensive to replace them.

Whatever be the design of the ovens, the placing of the loaves in them is work of great dexterity and is highly paid. Each loaf of those baked singly, or each pair of loaves, when such that the loaves stick together in the baking, is placed on the end of a long flat wooden shovel or "peel," and being pushed forward is deposited by a turn of the wrist exactly where it should be, either adjoining but apart from, or in actual contact with, the other loaves. To

remove the loaves when baked, a stronger and broader instrument of the same character is used.

Such is the ordinary method of baking by hand. The work, as we have said, begins at night, and early in the morning the first batches, consisting probably of rolls or something small in size, are ready for the ovens, which from that time till about noon are continually filled and refilled till all the bread is ready and the work ends. In some small establishments the men who bake are also employed to sell. If the preceding hours have not been too long, or if this work itself be not too long continued, this may be rather an advantage than otherwise.

The methods employed in the factories differ mainly in the introduction of machinery, and in the scale on which the work is done. At a model factory, all the operations are conducted above ground, and all the rooms are thoroughly ventilated. At the top of the building the flour is stored, and as it starts on its way to become bread, passes through ingenious machinery which weighs and mixes the various qualities in certain proportions. It then passes to the cylinders below, in which revolving arms perform the work of mixing and kneading before and after fermentation has taken place. The moulding or shaping of the loaves, except it be of a rather rough description, is hand work. In certain cases the dough, mixed and kneaded by machinery, is forced through the nozzle of an otherwise closed vessel and cut into uniform lengths by a chopper working automatically on a board sprinkled with rice-flour; but loaves prepared in this way are lacking in individual charm. When moulded the loaves go forward to the ovens, which, in the establishment here described, are various in character, English, Scotch or Viennese, according to the style of bread it is desired to produce.

Hours of Work.—The average hours in London are seventy or eighty per week, but some men are employed for fully ninety or even one hundred hours. In most bakeries of

ordinary character, work commences at 11 or 12 at night (in factories, as a rule, the hours are rather shorter), and the men continue working ten, twelve or fourteen hours, and sometimes even longer. On Friday especially, in order to supply bread for two days (Sunday's bread being purchased on Saturday afternoon or evening), the work, besides beginning earlier, is prolonged into Saturday, and even in first-class bakeries men work for seventeen or eighteen hours. This long spell, beginning on Friday evening and lasting it may be till Saturday afternoon, is followed by a rest till Sunday at midnight, when work commences again. In some poor districts the ovens may be heated for the cooking of Sunday dinners, but this work does not to any great extent fall to the lot of the journeyman baker in London.

The principal victims of inordinate hours are to be found amongst the foreign element settled here. In one case we were told—and the statement was strongly supported—that the master, a German baker, worked his men from 110 to 112 hours per week. All his employees are themselves German, and from Friday into Saturday are said to work twenty-four hours. Men go to this bakehouse fresh from the immigrant ship at very low wages. The Polish Jew bakers, who are located chiefly in St. George's-in-the-East, are employed for fourteen hours a day, and the time is lengthened to eighteen or twenty on Friday night in preparation for the Sabbath. Master and man work these hours alike, and when visited after they had already been employed for sixteen hours looked, it must be said, none the worse for their protracted toil in an underground and ill-ventilated workshop.

The work of the men is not absolutely continuous. In the process of preparing the sponge or the dough, there are periods of waiting while the ferment acts. One operation may be alternated with another, or the time filled up in the moulding of the loaves, or in the hurrying forward of a batch of rolls, but nevertheless there are times when the

men may sit and smoke or even sleep awhile, trusting to the foreman or first hand to rouse them when fermentation has gone far enough, or when the oven doors may be opened. Otherwise, the work puts a very severe strain on the physique of the men—so severe that without being occasionally relaxed it could not be sustained for such a length of time.

In the large wholesale bakeries, of which there are about a dozen in the Metropolis, the working hours are shorter than in even the best of the retail establishments. One well-known firm in West London averages only sixty-seven hours a week, including one hour a day for meals. In this factory sixty hours is made the basis of pay, and beyond this, each hour's work counts for an hour and a half.

In large as well as small bakeries night-work is the invariable rule in London. Indeed, it is even more difficult for wholesale than for retail makers to supply their customers with fresh bread early in the day without working at night, on account of the great area of distribution. That day-work is usual in many other parts of England and Scotland, shows, however, that the difficulties are not insuperable.

The conditions which favour night-work or day-work and long hours or short may be summarized as follows :—*

(1) *Established customs.*—It would be as difficult to introduce night-work where day-work is usual, as to abolish it where it is now customary.

(2) *Amount of space in bakehouse and ovens.*—Restricted space is conducive to night-work, especially where a mixed trade is done in baking small bread as well as regular loaves. This is a principal cause of night-work among the smaller London bakers.

(3) *Area to be supplied with bread.*—Where the trade is

* For the summary that follows and other information as to the trade, I am indebted to Mr. T. Kirkland, who is himself a practical baker.

spread over a large area, as with the London factories, or in the country when bread is sent long distances by road or rail, it is difficult to avoid night-work.

(4) *Extent of trade organization.*—Where masters are well united so that individuals do not strive to take advantage of their neighbour by having their new bread first on the road; or where the men's unions are strong; it is more possible to do away with night-work. Neither of these conditions exist in London.

Good organization among the men would tend also to shorten hours, and, speaking generally, the conditions which tend towards shorter hours of work are to some extent connected with those which tend against night-work. Thus longer hours are worked at night than in the day: men can do more work in a given time during the day. Other favourable conditions as to hours are as follows:—

(1) *Efficiency of management.*—If men are left to themselves they are apt to take things easy and (especially at night) the work is protracted. A conveniently arranged bakehouse, proper tools, and regular meal times, all conduce to shorter hours of work.

(2) *Good discipline.* The drinking of beer and the use of tobacco in bakehouses cause waste of time. These customs (when permitted at all) prevail to a greater extent in bakehouses than in any other workshops. This is especially the case in underground places at night time.

(4) *Efficiency of machinery and continuous baking ovens of large capacity.*—The use of ovens that require a long time to heat, and must be re-heated after each batch, greatly prolongs the work.

(5) *Making large quantities of each kind of bread.*—The making of many varieties, and especially of small quantities of each kind, takes more time.

(6) *The use of a quick system of fermentation;* but on this

point what is even more important is an arrangement of work by which only a few men prepare the dough, so that the large body of men do not need to wait during the process of fermentation. This system is evidently only applicable in large establishments.

It may be questioned whether the actual desires of the public, although constantly appealed to, can be considered as favouring either night or day-work. Consumers do not usually want to eat very new bread, but the experience of places where the day system prevails proves that the delivery of new bread can be arranged under that system if need be.

Reviewing as a whole the facts before us, it is evident that the difficulties in the way of shorter hours of work in an ordinary bakery are not insuperable, nor would a change be necessarily costly. The masters claim that with the system of manufacture just as it is, the hours could be very much shortened if the men chose, hinting that where hours are long the men spin out their operations unnecessarily. It may certainly be said that thorough organization of the work would accomplish all that is required in shortening the hours, and good organization is economical. The change from night to day-work is another matter, and however desirable it may be, seems hardly within reach in London. Much *ex parte* evidence on both sides of the subject was brought before the Labour Commission, but without leading the Commissioners to any conclusion; except, by implication, that the matters in dispute would be best settled without legislative interference. That there is very considerable room for improvement in the trade, both as to length of hours and as to night-work, must be admitted. As to Sunday-work, there does not seem to be much cause for complaint; as, whatever may be the length of hours on other days, Sunday up to midnight is usually a free day for the men.

Sanitation.—Whilst it can hardly be denied that the effect of long hours, and still more of night-work, is

injurious to the health and welfare of the men, it is when connected with unsanitary conditions that the results become unbearable. As to the grievances connected with the construction of bakehouses, we have consulted the medical officers in all the principal London districts, and have conferred also with a number of master bakers, and some of the operatives employed by them, and in addition have personally visited a large number of bakehouses in different parts of London. The evidence thus collected indicates that a large majority of the bakehouses are situated underground. Thus out of 196 bakehouses in the St. Pancras district, the medical officer reports that only twenty-five are above the ground level. In this common type of bakery the preparation of the sponge is carried on in the basement or below the pavement, while the cellars at the back contain the ovens. In such cases adequate ventilation presents considerable difficulties, and can only be enforced by unremitting vigilance. Currents of air are jealously excluded, partly as disturbing to the process of fermentation, but mainly because of the sensitiveness of the men to draughts of cold air, with the result that the atmosphere becomes fœtid and dangerous to health. Scientific ventilation obviates the difficulty, but is not easily adapted to underground premises. Where it can be applied the men, never being excessively hot, are not sensitive to chill; and the air is changed without causing much draught. There are, however, many bakehouses in London, under as well as above ground, of admirable character, the sanitation of which leaves little to be desired. It is with regard to a minority only that the serious allegations made in the press and elsewhere are borne out.

The results of our own inquiry may be compared with a report made to the London County Council by their Medical Officer on the "Sanitary Condition of Bakehouses," published in February, 1894. It says: "Altogether two hundred bakehouses have been visited, some being situated

in the central and more crowded, others in the outer districts; the results obtained, therefore, may be taken as fairly representing the state of things to be found in London bakehouses generally." Of these 200, there were 82 above the ground level and 118 below, or partially below it. In 28 cases the provision for ventilation was found to be quite insufficient, and of these, 24 were situated underground. In 63 instances the ventilation was good, and of these 41 were above ground. In the remaining 109 cases, of which 53 were above ground, the means of ventilation were considered fairly adequate. Or, stated in another way, it seems that of the bakehouses situated above ground, 50 per cent. were well and 45 per cent. fairly ventilated, and in only 5 per cent. was the ventilation bad; whereas, of those situated below ground, 20 per cent. were reported as "bad," 61 per cent. as "fair;" and only 18 per cent could be passed as "good."

In four cases closets were found communicating directly with the bakehouse, and in six other instances the arrangement in this respect was objectionable. At five of the underground places information was obtained of flooding by back flow from the drains during heavy storms of rain.

The temperature of a certain number of bakehouses was observed, and found to range from 65 degrees Fah. in one where work had ceased some two or three hours previously, to 102 degrees in another instance, where a batch of bread was being drawn at the time of the visit. This occurred in a small and badly ventilated underground bakehouse, and appeared to be exceptional; in the majority of cases the range of temperature was between 72 degrees and 88 degrees Fah.

In these inspections no evidence was obtained of overcrowding, but, within our own experience, there are underground bakeries in East London so low that a tall man cannot stand upright in them, and so small that the three men employed have hardly room to turn about.

Such conditions certainly merit the term "over-crowded," and with the air full of dust and with gas continually burning, can scarcely fail to be unsanitary.

On the whole, however, it may be admitted that the evil is not of such dimensions as some sensational paragraphs in the public press might suggest. Moreover, it is generally conceded that there has been a considerable measure of improvement, and that the improvement is continuous. The evil still exists and calls for remedy, but it is not unmanageable in extent. Except as a council of perfection, it is unnecessary to insist on the entire abolition of underground bakeries. What is necessary is that, either through Factory legislation as workshops, or by means of the Public Health Acts, pressure should be brought to close the worst, to insist on the immediate improvement of others, and to raise and maintain the standard of excellence by the steady pressure of registration, inspection and fine. For these purposes the existing law, including the provisions of the Factory Act of this year, seem to be sufficient if energetically administered.

Health and Capacity.—The principal requisite for a journeyman baker is physical strength and a power of sustained effort under exceptionally exhausting conditions. In bread-making the men have often to keep at their task, mixing or kneading or moulding, with most of their muscles in play, for many successive hours, and where long hours prevail few men can stand the strain for more than twenty years.

That the men at present, in many cases, suffer in health there seems little doubt. Behind the floury whiteness of their work-a-day face lies too often the pallor of ill-health. They lack energy. The masters complain of stupidity and lack of interest in their work; and say that the men have "no ambition." The trade union officials find them apathetic, and therefore poor material for their purposes; and in despair turn to legislation to

find a cure for the bad conditions under which so many of their men live. It is not possible to appeal to mortality returns on this subject with much effect, because such figures as exist include biscuit bakers and confectioners, who, as already explained, are factory operatives. Taking the whole numbers, the figures seem to show that the mortality from phthisis and diseases of the respiratory organs generally, hardly departs from the average of all males. But records kept with regard to death benefits by the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers, show the following results for actual working bakers for a period of three years :—

Deaths of Operative Bakers in three years.

	Ages.		Total.	Per cent.
	25—45.	45—65.		
Phthisis.....	27	5	32	24½
Bronchitis.....	7	21	28	21¼
Pneumonia	13	7	20	15¼
Together	47	33	80	61
Other causes.....	21	30	51	39
Total	68	63	131	100

These figures, so far as they go, indicate a very high mortality before forty-five, and an excessive proportion of deaths due to lung disease at all ages, and the members of a trades union are almost certain to be above the average level in health, as well as in social prosperity. Were such statistics obtainable for the entire body of journeymen bakers in London, it is possible that the waste of life shown, besides applying to a very large number of men, would bear a still heavier proportion to the whole. In addition to diseases of the lungs, the men suffer very much from rupture, due to lifting heavy sacks of flour, or still more to the strain of handling the dough in the kneading troughs—a risk obviated by the use of machines.

The adoption of machinery has undoubtedly a beneficent

effect, but it is not economically successful unless accompanied by "machinery methods," which involve a stress on the nerves of the worker, perhaps no less trying in its way than the physical strain which the power of the machine replaces. The use of machinery generally involves the enlargement of the buildings, better types of ovens, and quicker methods of fermentation, and is invariably followed by shorter hours as well as usually by better pay. If well used the economy in labour is said to be 20 to 25 per cent., and the whole tendency in the trade is in this direction.

There is no actual evidence of disease being disseminated by the distribution of bread. It may very likely be possible, but it is not a serious danger; and we are therefore spared the necessity of appealing to the self-interest of the consumer in favour of the attempt to protect by State action the health of the worker.

Wages, &c.—There is a slack time in the West of London from August to November, but everywhere else the work is very constant. The rates of wages paid vary, however, a good deal between one district and another. The best rates appear to be paid in the large wholesale bakeries, but the work is very heavy, and it is asserted that after forty a man is of "no use in a factory." The lowest scale of pay is that to be found in East and South London, where men are said to "take anything they can get." The wages in these districts seem to be commonly 3*s* or 4*s* a week below those in the North and West, and still lower rates prevail among the East End Jews.

Subject to these local differences, the wages for "foremen" and "first" hands are 35*s* to 50*s* a week, for "second" hands 25*s* to 35*s*, and for "third" hands 22*s* to 32*s*, with allowances of bread and flour in each case—it may be 28 lbs. of bread to the first hands, and 14 lbs. to the rest, with 4 lbs. and 2 lbs. of flour respectively, which at 1*d* per pound would amount to from 2*s* 8*d* to 1*s* 4*d* a week.

The first hand superintends the fermentation, watching the

temperature with care, looks after the "sponge," and sees to the oven work. On his shoulder the responsibility rests. The second hand makes the dough and moulds the bread, and is helped by the third hand. Should the bakery be small no further men would be needed, but in larger establishments, in addition to the multiplication of departments, a number of others would be employed at 20*s* or 25*s* a week. Besides these assistants, who are sometimes called "table hands," there are casual hands, or "jobbers," who are engaged for the night or half night, or it may be for the week, but who are paid by the hour.

A considerable degree of skill is required to produce uniformly good bread day after day, especially in a climate as uncertain and changeable as our own. Even with the subordinates a certain faculty of calculation and comparison is needed, and there is scope in the moulding for a good deal of artistic ability of a kind.

Training.—Of apprenticeship or systematic training there is little or none in this trade in London, and technical education has not yet done much for it. Men may rise in position from third to second hands, and so upwards to that of first hands, acquiring in this way a rule of thumb knowledge of the whole process involved; or master bakers may pursue the scientific side and then bring their knowledge to bear on the action of their men; but progress in London bread-making has largely come from outside, from Scotland, from Germany (including Austria), and from France. The consequence is that the retail baking trade has passed to a great extent out of the hands of Londoners, as witness the names to be seen over the shops. The latest development, the change to factory work, has, however, been more English in its character, the impulse coming rather from the Provinces than from abroad or even from Scotland. Most of the bread so made claims to be of a country type, and differs alike from the old-fashioned London quartern and half-quartern loaves, and from the style of loaf introduced by the Germans and

French and still sold in some shops as "fancy bread." As the advent of German bread was accompanied by that of Germans to bake it, so, too, the provincial system brings young men from the Provinces who have learnt the business there. In this way, and not by apprenticeship among the boys of London, is the trade recruited. Apprenticeship is practically impossible where the work is done at hours when boy labour is forbidden by law. Even at sixteen, and from that up to eighteen or later, such night-work as this is quite unsuitable and should not be allowed.

Confectioners.

Makers of sweetmeats, cakes, pastry, &c., are of two classes, those who perform their work in a bakehouse, and those who are employed in a factory. When engaged in a bakehouse, the confectioner works principally in sugar, and must, in theory at any rate, be distinguished not only from the pastrycook, who makes all kinds of biscuits, pastry, and cakes, but also from the cook who does nothing but "stove" as contrasted with "oven" work. A cook and confectioner holds himself forth as capable of dealing with the whole business of the "shop trade" (as distinct, that is, from factory work), but "pastrycook and confectioner" is a more modest appellation, denoting a narrower sphere of capacity. In London there are fully six pastrycooks and confectioners to one cook and confectioner; but a man who knows a little of everything is most likely to find employment. No man calls himself (and, probably, no man is) strictly a confectioner, and nothing more.

Under the second head (factory workers), come those who are engaged in the manufacture of all kinds of jams and sweets, including jellies, bottled and candied fruits, chocolate, jujubes, gelatine, lozenges, liquorice, boiled

sugar and "pan-goods," as a certain class of sweets are called, with such specialities as cosaques, crackers, surprise packets, the garnishing for wedding cakes, and other forms of "ornamental confectionery."

The confectioner who works in a bakehouse is regarded there as a privileged individual. When the bread is all made the confectioner comes in, and the "solid" heat left in the oven usually suffices for his operation. His work is not so laborious as that of the baker, and is, moreover, all performed in the daytime. Working hours in this division of the industry are usually from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., with intervals of half an hour for breakfast, dinner, and tea; and the average wages are, for foremen, £2. 2*s*; for second hands, £1. 10*s*; and for third hands, £1. 5*s* per week; but in ornamental confectionery, which is considered the highest branch of the trade, a first-class specialist in cake and ice work will be paid £2. 10*s*, or even £3 a week. Many Italians, French, and Swiss are employed as "ornamentalists," and for long held the field, but Englishmen are rapidly becoming highly proficient in this department. Of Germans, very few are employed in this way, though there are so many engaged in bread baking.

Taking it all round, this section of the confectionery trade seems to be fairly prosperous and contented. The season lasts from October till the middle of July. In the slack period very little is done, and men take their holidays then in turn, a week at a time. There is not much organization. The "Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners" contains only a very few genuine confectioners. Some, however, join the "United Biscuit Bakers' and Pastrycooks' Society," a sort of friendly body, with burial and sick benefits.

In wholesale confectionery, by far the greater number of employees are women and girls. The census counts 4310 female "confectioners," but in this, as in other trades,

many do not declare their occupations, for there are a much larger number to be found in East and South London factories alone. To the male hands are entrusted the mixing of the various ingredients, and the principal operations performed over the fire. We find them employed as sugar-grinders, jam-boilers, preservers, and plain and fancy confectioners. Others are packers and loaders; and in each factory are to be found engineers, stokers, coopers, carpenters, carmen, store-keepers, and ordinary labourers; while a superior class of foremen supervise the work of both men and women in the different departments. Lads are employed by some firms, but there is a tendency to replace them with women and girls.

The men are fairly well paid, and their wages sometimes touch a high figure. They range in one factory, of which we have seen the pay-sheets, from 42*s* to 23*s*. Considerable skill and experience are needed in many of the processes, and the employment is usually permanent. But the work done by women and girls, demanding little skill, is very poorly remunerated, and is, moreover, extremely irregular and intermittent, by reason of the seasonal character of the trade. There is but little change noticeable since it was described in the chapter on "Women's Work" in East London in a previous volume. South and East London factories show similar results. In both districts there are "good" and "bad" firms, and wages vary accordingly. Many regular hands in firms that are not "good" take a remuneration ranging from 5*s* to 9*s* a week. Even lower figures are reported, but as such firms do not show their pay-sheets, the statements of the workers and their friends are the only evidence procurable. Work for Christmas confectionery pays the best; at it, a quick hand, even at the low rates prevailing, will make 16*s* a week, but this is not for more than three months at the outside, and during the rest of the year, girls from sixteen to twenty-five years of age will only take 3*s* to 6*s* a week, and are

lucky if they are kept on at all. The irregularly employed hands are in a still worse plight financially, but do not usually display either desire or capacity for fixed employment, being generally quite content with casual work.

Apart from those who do not aim at permanent service, there are many hard-working women and girls who are either put on short time, or thrown out altogether by reason of the fluctuations prevalent throughout the trade. In the chocolate department work is brought to a standstill in the heat of summer, and piece-workers sometimes wait all day without employment, and without pay, on the chance of the temperature falling. Or at the end of December, when Christmas stocks are completed, there may be no work in the bon-bon department for two months or more. Then there is the jam season—the time for summer fruits, or for oranges and lemons. It is to be observed that these various seasons overlap, but it does not follow that many kinds of work are done in the same factory, or that where this is so, a girl will pass from one department to another; it is more likely, perhaps, that she will not do so. Most of the work can be learnt in a week or a fortnight, and the numbers of those who, from outside, continually seek the work is great. There are, however, certain operations where considerable dexterity is called into play, as in shaping lozenges or making chocolate creams, which afford better pay and a more secure tenure.

To describe all the processes involved would be impracticable, but an attempt may be made as regards the leading features of the work, and the parts played by those engaged in it. Beginning, for instance, with fruit, lemons may be taken as a good example, the season for this fruit commencing before Christmas and lasting till the middle of April. The lemons, of which the best come from Sicily, are first squeezed by lads or girls in machines worked by hand. The juice is used in many departments,

and the "cases" are ejected into buckets to be dealt with by women, who by hand, or with the use of a machine, clean out the pulp, which is thrown away, leaving the rind intact. This may be candied whole or in large pieces. The boiling is men's work, and is a delicate process, requiring experience and judgment to obtain the right consistency before the boiled fruit passes on to the cooling-room. Some lemons are stripped of the outer part of the rind before the juice is extracted. So perfect is the machinery used for this operation that the rind of one lemon may be cut into an unbroken thread-like coil as much as twenty feet long. Fragments of the peel so cut are sometimes mixed with orange marmalade to flavour it.

In sugar work, what are called "boiled goods" are made by men over open furnaces, where the heat is regulated by thermometers; when the boiling liquid is poured on to the cooling tray, skilled artificers work it with their fingers till it acquires a certain consistency. The most careful manipulation is necessary lest the film that first forms over the sugar be broken, and the hot liquid spurt out and scald the operative. So, too, the preparing of "pan goods" is men's work. In this case a centre, usually an almond, is coated with sugar. The almonds and sugar are thrown into heated pans, and the coating takes place as these pans, jacketed with steam, turn and revolve in all directions. In the manufacture of peppermint and other lozenges, though men prepare and roll out the material, the punching is done by girls in small machines or by hand. The hand-work in this department is highly skilled, and more effective than any machine in giving a good shape to the lozenge. A clever hand-worker uses her punch with wonderful rapidity, never wasting material by deviating from the line, while she cuts and stamps her seductive lozenges. "Boiled" and "pan" goods together do not exhaust human ingenuity in the manufacture of sweets, although the greater part fall under

one or the other heading. American confectionery—"candy" as it is called—is a speciality for which most English factories have now a department. The products are very attractive in their combinations of colour, and in the piquancy and delicacy of their flavouring, and bear fantastic names of transatlantic origin.

The manufacture of cocoa and chocolate gives employment to many men, women and girls, the lighter portions falling to the female workers. The beans are roasted and cracked and winnowed to remove the shell and leave the nib. This last is ground between granite rollers, and, for some purposes, sugar is added during the grinding; or, to make a fine pure cocoa, the powder is subjected to great pressure to get rid of the oil which the bean contains. For chocolate creams a centre of pure boiled sugar is taken (this is the "cream") and coated with chocolate. This process is the work of girls, and requires practice and delicacy of touch.

The most wholesale business of all, that of jam-making, is ordinarily the work of men as regards mixing and boiling, and the work of women for filling, covering and labelling the pots; in some factories women are employed to attend to the boiling, the work being made possible for them by the use of steam.

The male operatives in the whole trade appear to be contented, but the women and girls, as might be expected in an overcrowded and fluctuating industry, are full of complaints. The chief trouble undoubtedly springs from the low average rate of wages. Other complaints regard fines inflicted for petty causes, and overbearing conduct of foremen and forewomen; or, under another count, speak of the lack of proper accommodation for meals, and failure to clear out the "pulp holes," which, if neglected, become very offensive and injurious to health, and especially obnoxious when meals are eaten in the work-room. Into the justification of these complaints it is not possible for

us to enter deeply. As they are not made against all alike, it would seem to be certain that some factories are more considerate than others, and it may certainly be assumed that some fall very much below a proper standard of excellence.

In jam factories women and girls are often badly burnt, either from the bursting of a jar whilst it is being filled with the boiling liquid, or owing to a slip when conveying heavy loads of scalding jam from the furnace to the cooling-room. This dangerous practice is avoided at the best workshops by the use of a barrel on wheels. Accidents, too, occur from the bursting of bottles in the mineral-water department, face and hands being in this way not infrequently severely gashed; but mineral-water manufacture is not included in the present section, though the work is, in some instances, combined with the confectioner's business under one management. In addition to these causes of mishap, there are also allegations of illness occurring owing to the dust arising from common starch, which is often used to make the moulds, and is reported to be very injurious to the lungs.

Trades Unions.

Connected with these trades are the following societies:—

Numbers in the London Trade (Census 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.		Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.		In each Society.	In each Division.	
15,533	8334	Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners (1861).	2000	2280	Forty-three branches in London. Gives Sick and Death benefits. Separate fund for Unemployed benefit—optional.
		National Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners (1893).	150		Gives Unemployed benefit. Sick and Death benefits are provided by a connected slate club, membership of which is optional.
		International Bakers' Union (1890).	130		Gives Sick and Strike or Lock-out pay.
10,175	2137	(*Confectioners and Pastrycooks.*)	—	—	—
25,758	10,471			2280	

Thus out of 10,471 men over twenty years of age only 2280, or about 22 per cent., belong to their trade societies, most of these being journeymen bakers, as although confectioners are eligible for membership, but few of them join the unions.

The Amalgamated Union is the more important organization, having branches in various parts of the kingdom, and a total membership of about five thousand men. Beside sick and death benefits, it has recently started an out of work fund, subscription (6*d* per week) to which is optional. Ten shillings a week is given for twenty weeks in the year, or if a man is partially employed his earnings are made up to that amount. It publishes a monthly paper

—the "Journeyman Baker's Magazine"—for its members. The efforts of the union are mainly directed to obtaining shorter hours of labour and better conditions of work. The National Union originated in a secession from the "Amalgamated" of those who desired unemployed benefit, which was not then provided by that society. It gives 12*s* a week for ten weeks, and 6*s* a week for another ten weeks during the year to members out of work, and makes sick and death benefits optional. The International Union, which consists mainly of Jewish bakers of bread, has a subscription of 6*d* a week, and gives 12*s* a week for sickness and a similar amount as strike pay.

No organization exists at present amongst female workers in confectionery, although within the last two or three years there was in East London a confectioners' union of considerable promise. According to the evidence taken by the Labour Commissioners, the employers of the neighbourhood treated this union with marked hostility; but independently of any such adverse pressure, the intermittent character of the labour, and the large proportion of young girls employed, present almost insuperable difficulties to the formation of a stable society.

The employers have a strong organization, known as the Master Bakers' Protection Society. It has about five hundred members in London, and several local societies in the suburbs and Provinces are affiliated with it. Its objects are to protect, defend and indemnify its members from unjust prosecution by police, Government or local inspectors; to prosecute fraudulent servants, and, by conference or in any other way, to advance the best interests of the trade. There is also a Society of Master Confectioners.

At present (September, 1895) the relations between workmen and employers are not very cordial, owing to the failure of an agreement made after a strike in 1889, by which the men were to have a sixty-hour week, and another strike seems probable.

There are two benevolent societies. The London Master Bakers' Pension and Almshouse Society (1832) provides pensions for aged bakers, their wives or widows, who have been subscribers. The society has almshouses in the Lea Bridge Road. In December 1894 there were forty-nine resident pensioners and fifty-eight other annuitants. The income is about £3300, of which nearly £2000 is absorbed by pensions.

The workmen's organization is known as the Journeymen Bread and Biscuit Bakers' Pension Society. It was instituted in 1875, for the relief of aged and infirm journeymen bakers and their wives or widows. It is mainly supported by the master bakers and millers. There are now eighteen pensioners receiving help from the fund.

Wages Statistics.

Of the 25,758 persons returned as employed in these trades, 10,471 are adult males, of whom about four-fifths (8334) are bakers. Returns have been received from seventeen firms, employing 1016 persons, as under:—

Bakers	2	=17 firms employing
Bakers and Confectioners	3	431 men
Confectioners	3	449 women
,, Wholesale	9	136 boys
		1016

The earnings of the men are as under:—

Under 20*s*	18,	or 4	per cent.	
20*s* and under 25*s*	104	,, 24	,,	Under 30*s*, 58 per cent.
25*s* ,, 30*s*	129	,, 30	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*	74	,, 17	,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*	57	,, 13	,,	30*s* and over, 42 per cent.
40*s* ,, 45*s*	22	,, 5	,,	
45*s* and upwards	27	,, 7	,,	
	431	,, 100	,,	

There are 6348 women returned as employed in these trades, of whom three-fourths are engaged in the manufacture of confectionery. We have particulars respecting 449 as under:—

5*s* and under	26	or 6	per cent.	Under 12*s*, 65 per cent.
6*s* and 7*s*	55	,, 12	,,	
8*s* ,, 9*s* 138		,, 31	,,	
10*s* ,, 11*s*	73	,, 16	,,	
12*s* ,, 13*s*	71	,, 16	,,	12*s* and over, 35 per cent.
14*s* ,, 15*s*	52	,, 12	,,	
16*s* ,, 17*s*	10	,, 2	,,	
18*s* and over.....	24	,, 5	,,	
	449	,, 100	,,	

From 8*s* to 10*s* a week appears to be the ordinary earnings of these women and girls, 43 per cent. of the total being within these limits. This is confirmed by other returns, which are not given in sufficient detail to be included in the table.

Boys receive from 4*s* to 18*s* a week, the more usual rates being from 6*s* to 9*s*, within which limits are found 43 per cent. of the 136 lads of whom we have particulars.

Social Condition.

Of the 10,471 adult men employed, about 5780 come under social classification. The large proportion of employers and of those returned as neither—in all 42 per cent. of the number included in this section—make a comparison between the earnings of the workpeople and the rooms occupied by their families somewhat difficult. Assuming, as in previous cases, that the other classes live under better conditions than the wage-earners, we obtain the following:—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Bakers and Confectioners).

Earnings as returned.			*Classification of Population.*		
Under 20*s*...	18, or	4 per cent.	3 or more in each room,	4800 or 16 per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*...	104 ,,	24 ,,	2 to 3 ,,	9100 ,, 30½ ,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	129 ,,	30 ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	11,100 ,, 37 ,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	74 ,,	17 ,,	Less than 1 ,,		
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	57 ,,	13 ,,	More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant	4900 ,, 16½ ,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	22 ,,	5 ,,			
45*s* and over ...	27 ,,	7 ,,			
	431 ,,	100 ,,		29,900 ,, 100 ,,	
			Families and servants of employers . . .	16,100	
			Families of those neither employers nor employed .	7000	
				53,000	

These figures suggest that the scale of earnings is too high to fairly represent the whole trade, only 28 per cent. of the men earning less than 25*s* a week, while 46½ per cent. live under crowded conditions. This impression is strengthened when it is remembered that most bakers receive a weekly allowance of bread and flour in addition to their money wages, so that the real earnings of a number of these men may be fully 2*s* a week higher than here stated.

CHAPTER IV.

MILK-SELLERS. (*Section* 50.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females. All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
Milk-seller	1319	1975	6386	489	10,169

The diagram shows a considerable surplus from 15 to 35, balanced by a deficiency above 35. It seems to be a young man's trade.

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
1256	2808	2711	3394	10,169

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Milk-seller, dairyman, cow-keeper, purveyor of asses' and goats' milk, milker, milk-hawker, stapler, carrier, contractor.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		5014
	Females		393
Birthplace	In London	37 %	1996
	Out of London..	63 %	3411
Industrial Status	Employer	25 %	1380
	Employed	57 %	3090
	Neither	18 %	937

Heads of Famil 5407.

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	To
Total	5407	5147	14,271	713	25
Average in family ...	1	·95	2·64	·13	4

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Pt. II.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1749	6·9
2 & under 3 ,,	3897	15·3
1 & under 2 ,,	6154	24·1
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	12,174	47·6
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	709	2·8
All others with 2 or more servants ..	142	·5
Servants.....	713	2·8
	25,538	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	25 %	20 %	22½ %
Not ,, ..	75 %	80 %	77½ %

Distribution.

East ..	Inner	2573
	Outer	760
North	Inner	1402
	Outer	5435
West..	Inner	673
	Outer	4157
Central	Inner	1549
South-East	Inner	507
	Outer	3667
South-West	Inner	1242
	Outer	3573

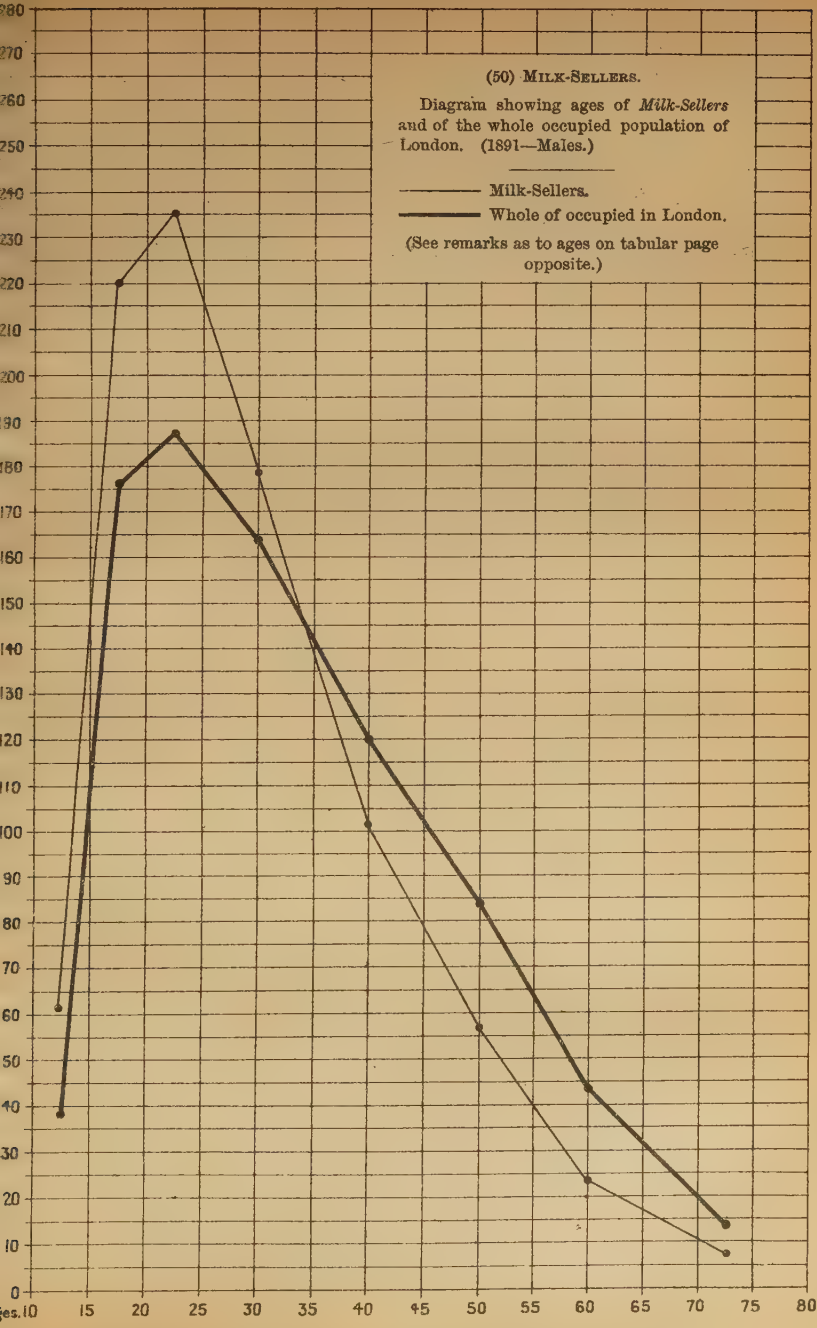
Inner 7,946, or 31 %
Outer 17,592, or 69 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers. Males.	Employers. Females	Employed. Males. Under 20.	Employed. Males. Over 20.	Employed. Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females	Tota
Milk-seller	1363	184	1975	4503	931	1009	204	10,1
Total.....	1547		7409			1213		

Proportion of Employers to Employed-1 to 5.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.).



Cow-keepers.

Before the railway era, the milk consumed in London was of necessity obtained from cows kept either in the town or its immediate neighbourhood, and London dairymen were almost without exception cow-keepers. That the universal combination of the two businesses would long have survived the advent of railways is not likely; but the inevitable change was greatly accelerated by the dreadful disease known to cow-keepers as the rinderpest, which constantly visited the London cow-sheds between the years 1840 and 1870, killing the cattle by hundreds, and in many cases clearing the sheds of the whole of the stock at one visitation. This dire pestilence forced London dairymen to look to the country for their supplies. At first the trade in country milk was insignificant, and was chiefly in the hands of the lower class of shops; a prejudice, probably to some extent justifiable, existed against railway-borne milk; no means were used to cool it before it was despatched; the train service was slow and unpunctual; the railway companies made no special arrangements for carriage of milk, which no doubt seldom reached London in good condition, and compared unfavourably with that derived from the town-fed cows. However, the last and most fatal visitation of the plague, between 1860 and 1870, compelled even the best dairymen to look elsewhere for their supply, and with a growing trade in country milk the railways gradually improved their arrangements for delivery; the invention of the milk-cooler—an appliance consisting of tubes filled with cold water over which the milk trickles, and is thereby reduced in temperature by about thirty degrees—enabled it to be delivered in good condition; and by 1870 the trade was fairly started on its present lines. Since that date the cow-keepers have been a rapidly decreasing body; the trade has yearly fallen more and more into the hands of large companies, who look entirely to country farms for

their supply, and now town-fed cows provide but a drop in the great ocean of milk which is daily consumed by Londoners. No doubt other causes besides rapid railway communication and the rinderpest have contributed to this result. Those cow-keepers who have struggled on in spite of discouragement have been for the most part small men of poor education, and often with insufficient capital; even if they could afford to do so they have scarcely kept up with the times; their cows, in many cases, have not been properly fed, and they have failed to recognize the necessity of using the cooling apparatus; the result is that their milk has, as a whole, been inferior in quality to that derived from the country. That this is so there seems to be little difference of opinion; even the cow-keepers themselves, when they have to supplement their supply, find that the milk which they purchase is usually sweeter than that obtained from their own cows; but there is some doubt as to how far the general inferiority of milk from London sheds is due to causes under the cow-keeper's control. The largest cow-keeper in London, whose dairy we have visited, has built up his reputation by making a special feature of milk direct from his own sheds; his success would seem to show that with scientific feeding, good sanitary arrangements, and the use of appliances for keeping the milk in proper condition, London sheds can send out milk equal to the best which the country can supply. On one point, at all events, London has the advantage; it is easier there to insure a pure water supply, and the cows have no opportunity of drinking from stagnant ponds, a habit to which they are said to be addicted. The truth of the matter probably is, that good milk can be produced in the country more easily and with less expense, and that the London cow-keeper can only hope to compete with the farmer by working on a large scale, and with the most perfect business methods.

Of quite recent years the cow-keeper has had yet another

cross to bear. The London County Council have enforced with increased, though not undue, severity their regulations as to ventilation, air space, lighting, water supply, and drainage. In many cases they have insisted on structural alterations in the sheds, which have put the occupier to considerable expense, while some of the weaker members of the trade have been forced out by inability to comply with their requirements. How far the very rapid decrease of cow-keepers during the last five years has been due to this cause, how far to other causes working in the same direction, we are unable to say, but the figures in the Council's yearly reports seem to show that the effect of this increased stringency must have been considerable. At the beginning of 1891 the number of licensed cow-houses was 673; by the close of 1894 they were reduced to 491.

As a result of these various causes the cow-keeper has fallen on evil days, and it seems unlikely that he will be able to stem the tide of depression. That his numbers have not been reduced far more rapidly is probably due to the fact that the vast majority of those who follow the trade belong to the thrifty race of Welshmen. Throughout the London milk trade generally the proportion of Welsh masters is very large, how large we shall to some extent be able to show when considering dairymen; but there are no reliable figures which will enable us to determine the exact proportion of Welsh cow-keepers. However, common report and our own observation lead us to suppose that they number considerably over 50 per cent. of the trade. As to the cause of this preponderance of Welshmen there seems little doubt; they alone among the inhabitants of the United Kingdom can make cow-keeping in London pay; or rather, perhaps they alone are content to accept the conditions under which the cow-keeper is forced to work in order to make a living. Without exception, these men seem to be the sons or near relations of small Welsh

farmers; they are, for the most part, poorly educated; they speak English very imperfectly, and come to London unfit for any other occupation than that to which they have been brought up in their own country. They are thrifty and self-denying; prepared to live in rough surroundings; and content to work exceedingly hard, and for abnormally long hours, with a very small return. Even accepting these conditions, most of them now have a hard struggle for existence. It is the smaller businesses in poor neighbourhoods that they most affect, and the part of London where they are most thickly planted is Whitechapel. This is probably due to the demand for Kosher milk* among the Jews, a demand which seems to necessitate perpetually the keeping of cows in this neighbourhood.

The cow-keeper, if he is in a fairly large way of business, employs cowmen exclusively to milk and tend the cows, and clean the sheds; in the smaller businesses, where only two or three cows are kept, some of the men will probably tend the cows and deliver milk. We will deal here with the cowman only, leaving the milk-carrier and his position to be considered under the head of dairymen. The most important of the cowman's duties, and the only one which requires skill, is milking. The yield of milk from a cow, and even its quality, depend to some extent upon the way in which she is milked. The chief requisites in good milking are quickness and gentleness, and of the two quickness is the more important—slowness not only reduces the quantity of the milk, but actually, we are told, leads to a considerable decrease in the yield of butter fat. The cowman therefore is, or ought to be, a skilled workman; there are, however, complaints as to the difficulty of getting good milkers, with the result that milking machines have been invented, which seem likely in time to deprive the cowman of his chief duty. Whether he is classed as skilled or unskilled,

* This should be milked by a Jew, but at any rate must be milked direct into a jug or vessel, and not mixed with other milk.

the cowman is certainly not highly paid for his work. His wages vary from 20*s* to 26*s* a week; the usual wage in the very best firms seems to be 24*s* a week, but in small businesses, which are much more common, they are certainly lower, and it is doubtful if the average exceeds 22*s* a week. In some cases the man is allowed, in addition, a pint of milk a day, and when he is not entitled to it probably helps himself to that or some other quantity. Though his fixed wage is little smaller, the earnings of the cowman are much less than those of the milk-carrier, and yet his duties are equally important, his hours are longer, and the conditions under which he works less favourable to health and comfort. The comparative smallness of his wage is no doubt due in some degree to the fact that he comes as a rule from the agricultural labourer class; slender as are his earnings in London, they have probably been a good deal smaller in the country, and at all events, when he first comes to the great city, he looks upon his new position as a rise in the world.

The cowman's hours of labour are long. He has to begin work seldom later than 4 A.M., and will work on, with short intervals for meals, till about 5 P.M.

He has naturally suffered much from the decay of the trade, and each year finds it increasingly difficult to get work, but is reluctant to return to the country, where the outlook is no better.

Dairymen.

From cow-keepers we pass to dairymen, or the purveyors of milk. The first point that strikes one is the extent to which the business has fallen into the hands of large firms with a number of branches. The managing directors or heads of these firms are nearly always English, but among the smaller masters we again find an extraordinary proportion of Welshmen. In Kelly's London Directory for

1895, 1450 dairymen are enumerated, of whom, judging by their names, not less than 529 are of Welsh extraction. The name Jones appears in the list 103 times, Davies or Davis 83, Evans 63, Williams 38, Morgan 36, Jenkins 30, Edwards 29, Lewis 22 times, and so on through Griffiths, Hughes, Lloyd, Owen, Price, Rees, Thomas, &c. Among these numerous Welshmen there are to be found only 10 Smiths, 9 Browns, and 2 Robinsons, and of these one is named David. That the proportion of Welshmen in the trade has grown enormously in the last twenty-five years is proved by a reference to Kelly for 1870, when of 1465 dairymen only 178 appear to be Welsh; in that year there were 40 Jones's and 30 Smiths. It is clear, therefore, that in the small businesses the Welsh have gradually been ousting the English, while of Scotch and Irish, we are told on the best authority, there are none in the trade. In addition to the fact that he is well suited to the business, the advent of the Welshman has no doubt been accelerated by the circumstance noted in Volume III, that when one member of a family has established himself in London, he very frequently sends for some of his relations to join him, or even lends them money to set up for themselves. The Welsh are a clannish people, and no doubt their numbers in the milk trade have been greatly swelled by the immigration of the friends and relations of the original founders of businesses.

Earnings.—Of the men employed in London dairies, the vast proportion are milk-carriers, though in large businesses there are in addition managers of branches, foremen of rounds, and a few men employed in making butter.

Managers are paid from 30*s* to 60*s* a week, with a house or rooms rent free. In most cases they have, in addition, milk, eggs, and butter for their own consumption.

Round foremen receive from 30*s* to 35*s* a week, and as a rule get a commission on each new customer they obtain.

Milk carriers in the wholesale trade are paid fixed wages of from 20*s* to 24*s* a week, with a commission on sales. Their earnings from the two sources would seldom exceed 35*s* a week, and would average about 30*s*. They have less opportunity than carriers in the retail trade of adding to their wages by methods legitimate or illegitimate, though possibly they get something from their customers, to whom a punctual service is of the utmost importance.

The fixed wages of carriers in the retail trade range from 20*s* to 26*s* a week. Those who drive a cart are usually paid 1*s* more than those who wheel a "pram;" their duties, however, are somewhat harder, as they generally have to attend to their horse and cart. In addition to the fixed wage, a commission is always paid of from 2*s* to 4*s* for each new customer who takes a quart a day. In many dairies a further commission is given of ½*d* on each pound of butter, ½*d* on each shillingsworth of eggs, and ½*d* on each quart of milk, to other than regular customers. Wages and commission, however, seldom represent the whole earnings of the milk-carrier; there is no doubt that by sundry illegitimate methods he too often helps himself. So notorious is the fact, and so difficult if not impossible is it found to prevent the objectionable practices, that masters, with rare exceptions, have found it necessary to wink at them, and to insist only that each man shall pay in full money for the milk which he takes out. In one way and another the earnings of the carriers average 33*s* a week; those who are abnormally dishonest make more for a time, but their career is likely to be short, for there is a point no doubt beyond which dishonesty is not the best policy. Short measure, or an unusual excess of water in the milk, is likely in the end to rouse the anger of a long-suffering public, and to lead to complaints to the master, who in his own interest as well as that of the customer will dismiss the peccant carrier.

Hours of Work.—In the wholesale trade work begins

habitually at 4 o'clock. The first round is completed from 8 to 9 o'clock; the men then go home to breakfast, and return to work about 10.30 A.M. The second round, during which they dine when and where they please, ought to be finished not later than 5 P.M.

In the retail trade work begins an hour later, and lasts with intervals till 6 or 7 o'clock. In most businesses each man has to do three rounds, the second round—when eggs and butter are taken as well as milk—being called "the pudding round."

Both in wholesale and retail trade, the actual hours of work vary to some extent for each man. It is obviously impossible to make all the rounds of exactly equal size, and even if they were, much depends on the speed of a man's horse, or on his walking power; while an even more powerful cause of difference in the hours worked is the characters of the men themselves. When once they leave the dairy they are almost free from supervision, and can, within certain limits, get through their work as fast or as slowly as they please; one man will spend a good deal of time in gossiping, another, perhaps, cannot resist the temptation of an occasional halt for liquid refreshment. That the hours can be curtailed when the men wish it is proved by the fact that on Bank Holidays and other special occasions, they manage to get home about two hours earlier than usual. This, no doubt, involves working at high pressure, and in the interests of neither master nor men is it desirable that the work should be done in other than a leisurely fashion; the carrier who is in a hurry cannot look about for new customers, nor can he serve his regular customers with the politeness and attention which are so requisite.

The most essential virtue for a milk carrier is punctuality in the morning, and in nearly all large businesses it is enforced by a system of fines. In some cases the fines may go to swell the master's profits, but as a rule they are

returned to the men. Occasionally they are used for a sick fund, and the surplus shared equally at Christmas. Sometimes they are divided at short intervals of three weeks or a month; any man whose fines for that period exceed a certain amount forfeiting his share. This method of punishment is, we suppose, illegal, but it seems to be preferred to the only other alternative—instant dismissal for unpunctuality.

The great grievance of carriers and cowmen is the necessity for working every day in the year. There is hardly any other trade in which the work is so continuous; even omnibus and tram drivers and conductors can, by forfeiting a day's pay, take a holiday when they choose; but the cowman must do his milking every day, and the carrier must work his round, at least twice a day, from one year's end to another. In small dairies a holiday of any sort is certainly a rare occurrence, either for master or men; but in the large dairies it is necessary to keep reserve men, and each carrier may get a day off occasionally. In such dairies, too, it is now usual to give each man a holiday, not exceeding a week, once a year. The necessity for seven days' labour every week from year's end to year's end makes the trade unpopular, and is evidently much regretted by the masters, but the grievance is not an easy one to remedy. The best-intentioned cow can only yield a certain quantity at each milking, and, even were it possible to forestall the supplies so as to send out in the morning the whole of the milk required for the day, a double quantity could not well be delivered in one round. That the public would ever consent to curtail their supply, though but for one day in the week, is not at all likely. In no trade, perhaps, is the demand of the consumer more imperative. Man's wants may be disregarded, but in this case it is the women and children who are to be considered, and above all, the voice of the baby, which would make itself heard.

Regularity.—Both very hot and very cold weather increase the consumption of milk; in hot weather it is largely used as a beverage, both alone and in combination with soda-water; in cold weather there is an increase in the desire for tea, coffee, cocoa, and porridge. In one quarter we have been told that the sale falls off when fruit is cheap and plentiful. In the West End, and to some extent in most districts, less milk is sold during the summer exodus from town. But, except in so far as it may lessen their commissions or "makings," a diminished sale does not affect the men; it is the masters who suffer. Everywhere some milk consumer is left, and, though the house which in May is taking a gallon a day may in September require only a pint, practically the same labour is required to deliver either quantity, with the result that for about two months in the year the West End dairyman works at a heavy loss.*

Health.—The work of the carrier is certainly healthy; it is neither arduous nor exhausting. A large part of the day is spent in the open air, and the necessity for early rising prevents the spending of a long evening in the public-house. The cowman works under less favourable conditions; in spite of the efforts of the County Council to improve matters, the sheds are often deficient in ventilation, and even at their best they are necessarily filled with unsavoury exhalations.

With the desire of ensuring punctuality, masters prefer that men should live near their work, and some of the large companies have built model dwellings for their employees.

There seems no reason why a trade which requires little stamina should not be recruited to an unusual degree from Londoners, but masters, with few exceptions, tell us that

* In no other trade probably is the cost of delivery so great; it is estimated by the large companies at 1¼*d* per imperial gallon.

the majority of their men are countrymen, and that they much prefer them to Londoners.

General Condition of the Trade.—The trade of the dairyman, as apart from that of the cow-keeper, seems to be in a fairly prosperous condition, though the fall in the dividends of the large companies during recent years shows that profits are generally smaller than they were. The sale of milk has increased, and is increasing quite out of proportion to the growth of population; but, as in other trades, the cutting of the price* has made it difficult for the dairyman to earn a profit unless he works on a large scale, or adopts methods of trading which, when not actually dishonest, are not such as his customers would be likely to approve. The practice of "washing" or watering the milk, though still very prevalent, is less common than it was. At one time certain members of the trade boasted of their ability to make one churn do the work of three. Those "good old days" are gone; inspectors are more numerous and more active than they were, and the risk of prosecution for selling watered milk is very great, a risk which no respectable dairyman can run without great injury to his trade. But though "washing" has declined, the dairyman is able to effect the same purpose in another way, and still to keep within the law; thousands of gallons are sold daily as pure milk, which have undergone a great deterioration in their progress from the cow to the consumer. The practice of abstracting some portion of the cream, or of mixing separated with whole milk is increasingly prevalent, with the result that the dairyman who does not resort to it is placed at a serious disadvantage, and has to compete with his rivals on unequal terms. So widespread is the custom that the great question which is now (1895) agitat-

* A remarkable instance of the vigour of the English aristocracy in these democratic days is found in the fact that the men who are chiefly complained of as the pioneers of "cutting," are certain noble lords who have entered the trade.

ing the trade is the advisability of fixing a legal standard for milk. Great difficulties surround the question, for the cow, whom one would suppose to be the least guileful of animals, lends herself to the deception. It seems that in milk of average quality the total solids amount to about 12·90 per cent., of which about 3·99 per cent. is fat. Not only, however, does the composition of milk vary enormously in different cows, but in the same cow it will vary at different seasons of the year, and even from day to day under altered conditions of health or weather. To fix a high standard might therefore lead to much injustice, while if it were fixed too low the temptation to adulteration of whole with separated milk would seem to be increased. Whatever be the end of the "battle of the standard," it seems only right that the honest dairyman should be protected from this unfair competition, and that the sellers of milk which is not "whole" should, if possible, be forced to notify the fact to the public.

Another objectionable custom not unknown in the trade is the colouring of milk. The public, or some portion of them, prefer a yellow liquid. As the vast majority of cows persist in yielding white milk, the dairyman has been obliged to call in art to remedy the deficiencies of nature. The added matter is said as a rule to be anatto, a harmless vegetable substance.

Few retail traders are now content with the profits to be derived from their nominal business, or rather perhaps the profits of one business are so small that each man is compelled to encroach upon his neighbour's province. The dairyman has not altogether escaped this tendency; he sells bread in large quantities, and in many cases does a small trade in refreshments, especially in temperance drinks. We are told that his efforts thus to add to his takings have not been altogether successful, and that his profits are still almost entirely derived from the three staple articles of his trade—milk, butter, and new laid eggs.

The dairyman has no doubt suffered for many years from the sale of cheap foreign butter and margarine, but until quite lately he has not been troubled by the competition of foreign milk. However, within the last three years milk has been imported from the Continent in large quantities; in 1894 over 93,000 gallons were imported from Sweden, and more than 67,000 gallons from Holland. A great deal of this milk is frozen or chilled to near freezing point before exportation; to that which is not frozen preservatives, such as salicylic acid, are added; but whatever the means adopted for preserving, it does not at present seem probable that it can reach London in a satisfactory condition.

Trade Organization.

There is an entire absence of organization among the men employed in the milk trade. Masters are associated in the Metropolitan Dairymen's Society, the two main objects of which are stated to be—(1) "The advancement of the interests of the milk trade, especially by taking every possible means to prevent the adulteration of milk;" and (2) "The formation of a Benevolent Fund for deserving, aged, or infirm members of the milk trade." In close connection with this society is the Metropolitan Dairymen's Benevolent Institution, the purpose of which is "to relieve the deserving members of the trade and their widows in old age and infirmities by pensions or otherwise, and the orphans of annuitants by gratuities." The benefits of this institution were originally open only to "any subscriber to the Metropolitan Dairymen's Benevolent Institution or Member of the Metropolitan Dairymen's Society who shall have paid his subscription for five successive years, being sixty years of age, and having carried on the business of a dairyman within the Metropolitan Postal District upon his own account ten years;" but in 1894, owing to the

increase in the number of dairies carried on by managers, the benefits were extended to include any who had "acted as manager of a dairy in the said district for a corresponding period." There is, further, the Dairy Trade and Can Protection Society, which acts as a can exchange and clearing house, and endeavours to prevent the adulteration of milk.

Wages Statistics.

In 1891, according to the census, 4503 adult males were employed in this trade; our wages' returns are very unsatisfactory, but such as they are we give them. We have returns for 179 men, employed by six firms. Their earnings in an average week are as follows:—

Below 20*s*	5,	or 3	per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*	133	,, 75	,,	Under 30*s*, 90½ per cent.
25*s* ,, 30*s*	23	,, 12½	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*	12	,, 6½	,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*	—	,, —	,,	Over 30*s*, 9½ per cent.
40*s* ,, 45*s*	3	,, 1½	,,	
45*s* and upward	3	,, 1½	,,	
	179	,, 100	,,	

Quite apart from the fact that, owing to the circumstances already mentioned, they do not represent all the earnings of the men, too much reliance must not be placed on these figures, as they are not drawn from a sufficiently wide field. Masters, knowing that a statement of the sums paid by them to their men would give a false impression as to the true state of affairs, have for the most part refused to give us exact details as to wages, and have confined themselves to general statements. But unreliable as the figures are, it is certain that an enormous proportion of the men do not legitimately earn over 30*s* a week, and we doubt if the proportion shown is much too high.

Social Condition.

Of the 4503 adult males employed, about 2860 come under social classification as heads of families. It will be seen from the table that follows that 30 per cent. are living under crowded conditions with two or more persons to a room; that 33 per cent. live one or two persons in a room; and that there are 37 per cent. of the central classes.

The table is interesting as showing that in a trade where the nominal wages are small the standard of comfort is above the average of the industrial classes. This is, however, partly accounted for by the considerable proportion who are returned as "neither employer nor employed," and who are probably the keepers of small milkshops:—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Milksellers).

3 or more in each room	1750	9 per cent.	Crowded 30 °/₀
2 to 3 ,, ...	3900	,, 21 ,,	
1 ,, 2 ,, ...	6150	,, 33 ,,	Not Crowded 70 °/₀
Less than 1 ,, ...			
More than 4 rooms	6700	,, 37 ,,	
4 or more persons to a servant ...			
	18,500	,, 100 ,,	
Families of employers, servants, &c.	7050		
	25,550		

CHAPTER V.

BUTCHERS AND FISHMONGERS. (*Section* 51.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55 —	
(1) Butcher	405	2739	10,286	938	14,368
(2) Fishmonger ..	547	1041	5444	579	7611
(3) Cheesemonger and provisions .	652	975	4581	450	6658
TOTAL....	1604	4755	20,311	1967	28,637

In this section the age line is nearly that of the average occupied population, with a slight deficiency amongst the old and a surplus of young people.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	15,781	Heads of Families, 16,248.
	Females	467	
Birthplace	In London .... 56 %	9134	
	Out of London.. 44 %	7114	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 28 %	4506	
	Employed..... 57 %	9280	
	Neither ..... 15 %	2462	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	16,248	15,838	44,589	3735	80,410
Average in family..	1	·97	2·75	·23	4·95

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
4820	7102	6642	10,073	28,637

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part II.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	6336	7·9
2 & under 3 ,,	12,446	15·5
1 & under 2 ,,	16,361	20·3
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	35,688	44·4
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	4399	5·5
All others with 2 or more servants ..	1445	1·8
Servants	3735	4·6
	80,410	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	32 %	18 %	23½ %
Not ,, ..	68 %	82 %	76½ %

DISTRIBUTION.

East..	Inner	11,689	14,146
	Outer	2457	
North	Inner	3296	19,247
	Outer	15,951	
West	Inner	1942	12,356
	Outer	10,414	
Central	Inner	5130	5130
South-East	Inner	2571	14,182
	Outer	11,611	
South-West	Inner	5793	15,349
	Outer	9556	
			80,410

Inner 30,421, or 38 %
Outer 49,989, or 62 %

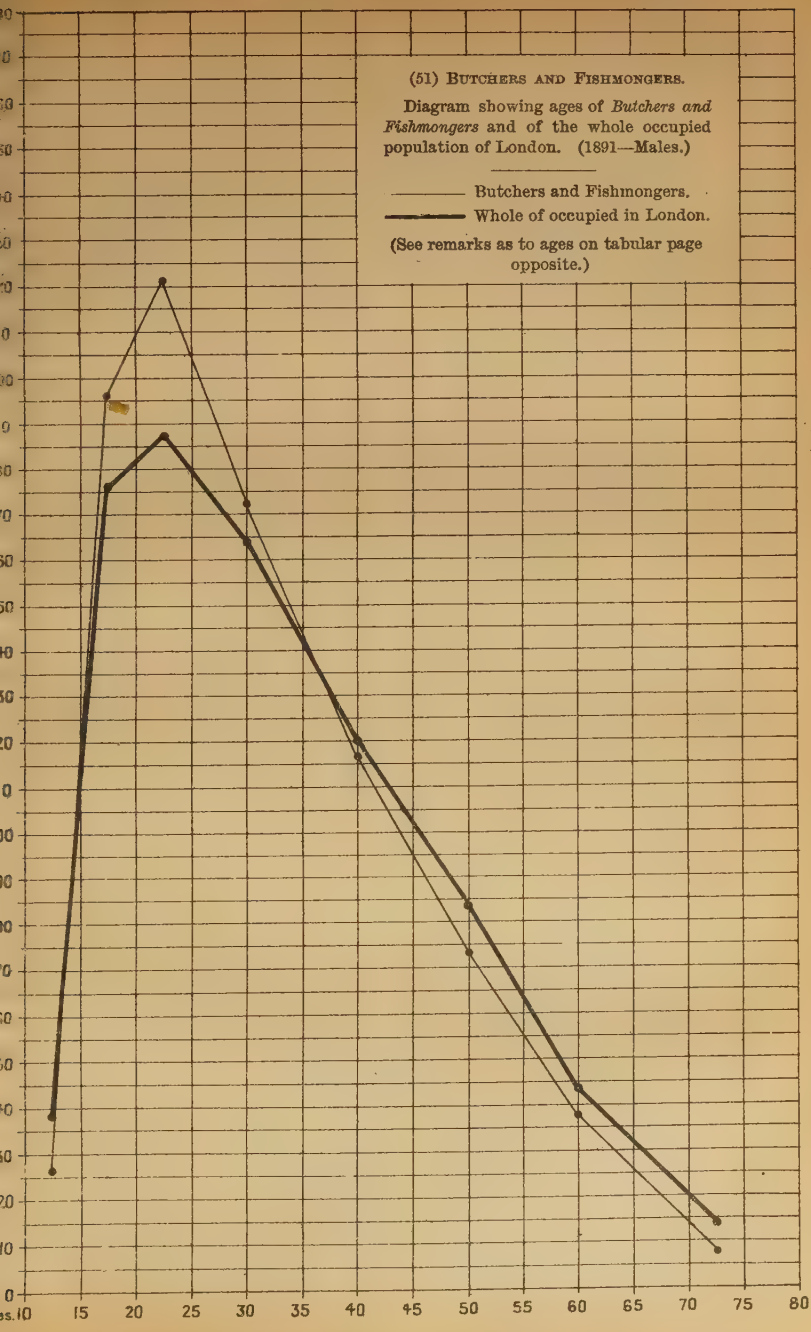
DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Jewish slaughterer, kiddier, sealer (Jews' meat-market), slaughter-house keeper.
(2) Poulterer, game-dealer, fish-curer, haddock-smoker.
(3) Butterman, essence-of-meat manufacturer, infants'-food manufacturer, sausage-maker, pork-pie maker, egg-merchant, bacon-curer, hotel-contractor, lard-maker, meat-preserver.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
(1) Butcher	2353	106	2739	8169	265	702	34	14,368
(2) Fishmonger, poulterer and game-dealer.....	1146	70	1041	3363	364	1514	113	7611
(3) Cheesemonger and provision curer, dealer.....	1163	99	975	3341	367	527	186	6658
	4662	275	4755	14,873	996	2743	333	28,637
TOTAL.....	4937		20,624			3076		
	Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 4.							

(For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Butchers and Meat Salesmen.

If there be truth in Dr. Johnson's saying that "a man seldom thinks with more earnestness of anything than he does of his dinner," then this section of our inquiry, dealing as it does with those who work that London may dine, should awaken an interest even among those to whom a large part of our work must necessarily be dull. Probably, however, the earnest thought to which Dr. Johnson refers is directed exclusively to the finished product as it appears in the last stage of its long journey from sea or pasture to the dinner table. In its native state our animal food is picturesque and attractive; and, once again, when it has passed through the deft hands of the cook it becomes attractive to all who are not vegetarians, or under the dominion of the "accursed hag, Dyspepsia"; but between these two periods it is subjected to treatment and to various processes, the details of which the epicure, at all events, would probably prefer to be spared. It is during this intermediate period of its existence, when it is being goaded, driven, slaughtered, skinned, cut, hung, and hurled from hand to hand, and shoulder to shoulder, that we have to deal with the animal food of London.

The best way, perhaps, in which we can give some account of those who are concerned with the trade in meat and fish, will be to trace the food from the moment of its entrance into London, until it is finally left at the householder's door. In so doing we shall deal with two classes of men—drovers and market porters—who do not strictly come under this section; both classes are, however, so closely connected with butchers or fishmongers, that it seems more convenient to treat of them here than under their proper section.

Markets for Live Cattle.—The meat of London enters mainly at four points, the Docks, the Metropolitan Cattle

Market at Islington, the Foreign Cattle Market at Deptford, and Smithfield Market.

Of the supply received at the Docks, consisting as it does entirely of frozen meat, we need say little at this point. Here no labour is employed on it beyond that required from the ordinary dock-labourers in unloading, and carrying either to the dock storehouses or to the carts of the various carriers who convey the meat to Smithfield.

The Metropolitan Cattle Market at Islington is the point of entrance for nearly all English animals, and for a small number of American animals landed at Liverpool. This market, which took the place formerly occupied by Smithfield, was opened in the year 1855. It contains thirty acres, about half of them enclosed for lairage and slaughter-houses, of which there are eight. The enclosed market provides standing room for about 7000 bullocks, 35,000 sheep, 1425 calves, and 900 pigs.

If we may believe the accounts of historians and novelists, this market is in striking contrast to that which it superseded; here there is ample room for the trade. So far from there being "crowding, pushing, beating, whooping, and yelling," or "a hideous and discordant din resounding from every corner of the market," as Dickens describes Smithfield of old, the scene at Islington on a fine morning is singularly pleasant and almost idyllic. "London's central roar" has not yet begun; here, on the top of Camden Hill, the air, always comparatively pure and bracing, is now doubly so in its morning freshness and freedom from smoke; beyond the lowing of cattle, and the bleating of sheep, scarcely a sound can be heard; altogether it is a peaceful and a pleasant scene, more redolent of country sights and sounds than any other that London can show.

Of those who labour here we have first to deal with drovers. The two market days are Monday and Thursday.

The drover's work begins late on the previous evening;

about 11 o'clock on Sunday and Wednesday nights he has to be at the market station on the Great Northern Railway, to meet the animals which have been consigned to the salesman for whom he works; the animals, on arrival, are at once driven into the market, the sheep being put into pens, the bullocks and calves tied in rows to wooden rails. The animals once confined or tied, the drover has no further duty than to remain with them till they are sold, or until the market closes at 3 o'clock on Monday or Thursday; if they remain unsold, they will be driven to the lairs for the night, and probably on the following morning taken to the fields of some master drover near London, to come up again for the next market.

The master drover is paid at the rate of 2*s* to 2*s* 6*d* for every score of sheep, 1*s* for each bullock, and 6*d* to 9*d* for each calf. Journeymen drovers are paid from 12*s* to 12*s* 6*d* for Monday's work, and from 10*s* 6*d* to 12*s* on Thursdays; those who get work on other days in the week are paid about 8*s* a day.

Before the Foreign Cattle Market was opened at Deptford in 1872, drovers at Islington were very prosperous; the masters in the course of a market-day often made very large sums, and the men shared in their prosperity, but the prohibition of the importation to Islington of animals from countries scheduled by the Board of Agriculture has very largely reduced the trade done at the market, and the drovers have suffered accordingly. Some of them get little or no employment; not a few seldom have work except on Mondays, and only those who are employed by the largest masters can hope to earn a satisfactory wage. In a very full week, a man who works for a good employer may make as much as £3, but even those who are in fairly regular employment would not on an average earn anything like that sum. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to arrive at a true estimate of what their average earnings really are; but there can be no doubt that many of them have for

some years fared badly. Though some have dropped out into other employments, and others, especially the younger men, have gone to Deptford, where trade, as we shall see, is brisker, there still are more drovers in the market than there is work for.

The busiest time is during the summer and autumn months, called "the grass season;" in the winter and spring, or "Norfolk season," only stall-fed animals are received at the market; an exception, however, must be made in favour of the week before Christmas, when the grand market is held.

One would expect that those engaged in a trade so akin to that of the cowherd and the shepherd, would for the most part be countrymen; the reverse appears to be the case. Nearly all drovers begin their life in the market as "ochre boys," that is, boys who mark the animals with ochre for the butchers, and who are paid a few pence for so doing. When they get old enough, and begin to pick up the drover's craft, they apply to the City Corporation for a licence, which is granted on satisfactory proof of good character on the payment of a fee of 5*s*, and is renewable annually without further payment.

The trade is exceedingly healthy; probably there are few healthier. The men complain only that their feet suffer from standing for so many hours on the hard stones of the market, and that they are rather subject to rheumatism from exposure, and from rubbing against the coats of the sheep in wet weather. No doubt the many hours of idleness form a certain temptation to drink, but, as in other trades, there has been in recent years a distinct improvement in this respect, though among the Islington drovers this improvement has, we fear, to some extent, been due to increasing poverty.

After the drover has done his work, the animals, if intended at once to be used for human food, pass into the hands of the slaughterman, either in the slaughter-houses

at the market, or in the private abattoirs of the butchers who have purchased them. At this point we shall deal, as far as wages are concerned, only with the slaughtermen employed at Islington. Slaughtermen, other than those at work in private slaughter-houses, are employed either by carcase butchers, or by licensed slaughterers of cattle. The carcase butcher has no retail shop, but purchases live animals, kills them, or has them killed, and sends the meat to commission salesmen at Smithfield Market or elsewhere, though some have their own shops at Smithfield. The licensed slaughterer sells no meat, but slaughters only for carcase butchers, and for retail butchers who do not kill for themselves.

Slaughtermen work in gangs varying in number from two to ten; the most usual number appears to be four. In a gang of four there will be a head man or dresser, two assistants or groundsmen, and an offal man. Each member of the gang has his own clearly defined duties; the actual killing is usually performed by the dresser, though in some cases by the head groundsman.*

* The peculiarities of the Jewish method of slaughtering are worth noting. The duty of the shochet or cutter, is to cut the throat of the animal to be killed, and to certify its soundness. He takes no part in the after operations, which can be performed by a member of any religion, and which differ in no respect from those customary after any other method of slaughter. Shochetim are in the employ, not of butchers, but of the Jewish Board of Shecheta, the Board, that is, that deals with the slaughter of animals for human consumption. The carcase butcher, for whom the shochet performs the operation of cutting, pays to the Board 4*s* 3*d* for each bullock, 1*s* 6*d* for each calf; 6*d* for each sheep, and 1*d* for each fowl. The Board pay the schochetim, of whom there are thirty, wages varying from £2 to £4. 10*s* a week. Their hours are from 10 to 5, but they are allowed to work overtime, for which they are paid at the rate of 2*s* an hour.

The chief object of the Jewish method of killing is to get rid of the arterial blood as quickly and completely as possible; this object is effected by cutting the throat of all animals, large or small, with a very sharp knife.

After the shochet has done his work, the animal is cut open and the heart, lungs, and liver are examined. If they show that the beast is sound, the meat is pronounced "kosher," or fit and lawful for a Jew to eat; all

Slaughtermen work entirely by the piece; the gang is paid at the rate of 2*s* 6*d* for each bullock and 6*d* for each sheep. At the end of the week the money earned is divided equally among the men.

At the Metropolitan Cattle Market, with which we are now more especially dealing, the slaughterman's business has, like that of the drover, and from the same causes, been for many years declining. As to the average earnings of the men, statements are so conflicting that it seems almost useless to attempt to give an estimate; even now, in an exceptionally good week, a man may perhaps earn as much as £4, but probably few would average more than £2 per week throughout the year. There is always a certain amount of shifting of labour between this market and Deptford, and some of those who used to work regularly at Islington seem now to have made Deptford their permanent home, while others have found their way to Birkenhead, where the increasing trade has to some extent mitigated the suffering which might have been caused by the decline of slaughtering in London.

The men at the Metropolitan Market may begin or end work at any hour. Their object is to finish in time for the meat to be delivered at Smithfield on the following morning.

The Foreign Cattle Market at Deptford is the point of entrance for animals imported from countries scheduled by

other meat is "trifer." If the meat is "kosher," it is at once sealed by one of the "shomerim" or sealers, who accompanies the cutter. To every portion which can be sold separately the seal is affixed, and is a perfect guarantee of its soundness. Kosher meat is the only meat in England which necessarily undergoes adequate inspection.

Both shochetim and shomerim are men of learning, and of the highest respectability. They have to pass an examination in the Jewish law and religion. The majority of them in England are foreign Jews.

The sharpening of the knives is a matter of delicacy and difficulty, and some who are otherwise qualified never learn to do it properly.

Shomerim, who are rather an inferior grade of men to shochetim, are paid from £2 to £4 a week.

the Board of Agriculture. The market, on the site of the once famous dockyard, was opened in the year 1872. It covers 30 acres, and has a river frontage of 1250 feet; there are three jetties, each 175 feet long, on to which the largest steamers can at high tide discharge their cargo; there are covered lairs for 2000 sheep and 6000 cattle; and 70 slaughter-houses let to carcase butchers and licensed slaughterers. About 1500 persons in all are employed here.

Immediately on arrival, animals are examined by a Government inspector, appointed by the Board of Agriculture, and, if infected with any disease, are at once destroyed and cremated. No animal is allowed to leave the market alive, and all must be slaughtered within ten days of landing.

The trade is very variable, and depends to a great extent on the fiat of the Board of Agriculture, which frequently entirely prohibits importation from countries where disease is known to exist. Of late years, too, the ever-growing business in frozen meat has seriously affected the trade at Deptford, though there is some indication that the competition from that source may in the future diminish rather than increase. Last year (1894) the experiment was tried of opening up a live cattle trade with Australia; should this trade increase, as it seems likely to, it will add largely to the prosperity of Deptford Market, and of those who labour there.

Both drovers and slaughtermen at Deptford earn more money than the same class of men at Islington, but the work is even more irregular.

Drovers are paid about 10*s* on ordinary days, and 15*s* on the two market days, Monday and Thursday. A man in regular employment may often earn as much as £4 a week.

Slaughtermen earn very high wages; £4 or £5 a week appears not to be at all an uncommon sum; but no doubt the market is, except at the very busiest times,

overstocked with both classes of labour, and the average earnings, if distributed among all the men in the trade, would probably not be large.

The hours of labour are uncertain; they depend, both for drovers and slaughtermen, on the time of arrival of ships, while the hours of the latter class are affected also by the demand for meat at Smithfield Market.

No slaughtering is done on Saturdays; on other days in the week it may last for any number of hours, from one to twenty on end.

As is usually the case where work is intermittent and uncertain, and where men earn very high wages when actually at work, there is a great deal of drunkenness. Indeed, the evidence seems to show that labourers in the market are, for these days of comparative sobriety, an unusually drunken lot, and the character of the streets in the immediate neighbourhood of the market points to the same conclusion. Though there is a difference of opinion on the point, it may perhaps also be true that the business of the slaughterman is necessarily brutalizing, and conducive to drink. That the men carry on their ghastly trade in a perfectly callous spirit is certain; but sickening as are the sights and sounds of the slaughter-house to one who enters it for the first time, the most tender-hearted of men would no doubt rapidly become indifferent to them if he could once overcome his initial aversion to such a trade.

Smithfield Market.—We can now pass from slaughtermen, and follow the dead meat in the carrier's cart to the London Central Market at Smithfield. Until the year 1855, when the new market was opened at Islington, Smithfield was the centre of the live cattle trade. As long ago as the year 1150, we hear of horses and cattle being sold there; in 1615 we read in Howe's edition of "Stow," that "the City of London reduced the rude vast place of Smithfield into a fair and comely order, which formerly was never held possible to be done . . . . because it

was intended that hereafter it might prove a fair and peaceable market-place by reason that Newgate Market, Cheapside, Leadenhall and Gracechurch Streets, were unmeasurably pestred with the unimaginable increase and multiplicity of market folks." For how long it remained a "fair and peaceable market-place" we cannot say; but it is certain that for many years before the trade was removed to Islington, the size of the market was quite inadequate, and led to scenes of gross cruelty and brutality.

The present Meat, Poultry, and Provision Markets, which cover a wider area than the old cattle market, are none too large for the trade, and the shops are now (1895) all let. The tenants are for the most part commission salesmen, though a few carcase butchers have their own shops.

The market gates are opened at 1 or 2 A.M., and meat is delivered by the railway companies and meat carriers from that time, though not much is received in the first hour or two after the opening. Before the arrival of the salesmen, the consignments of meat are noted by night watchmen, of whom one may be employed by four or five tenants at a wage of from 24*s* to 30*s* a week. At 4 o'clock the masters and men arrive, and the business of selling begins, though for the first hour the buyers are not numerous, those who attend early being the buyers for the best shops, who wish to get their pick; indeed, it is only between 6 and 8 that there is a heavy stress of work; during this period the market is a busy and a stirring scene.

In the shops the following men are employed (numbering in the whole market about 1500) :—

1. *Salesmen.*—In most cases the master acts as salesman, but nearly all employ an under-salesman. Salesmen are highly paid, their salaries ranging from £2 to £10 a week. At the lower sum there would not be many, and those only young men of small experience. Salesmen almost without exception are men who have risen from the lower ranks of the trade, or in a few cases have been clerks in the office.

2. *Cutters* at wages from 25*s* to 45*s* a week.

3. *Scalesmen* at wages from 20*s* to 35*s* a week.

4. *Porters* or assistants, at wages from 22*s* 6*d* to 25*s* a week.

Both scalesmen and cutters add to their earnings by "tips." With scalesmen it is a recognized custom for the buyer to put a penny in the scale with each joint weighed, and scale-money will be worth anything from 10*s* to £4 or £5 a week. With cutters there is no recognized system of tipping, but they do undoubtedly earn something in addition to their wages in this way. In some shops direct tips are discouraged; a box is kept, and all the men in the shop share equally at the end of each week.

Some of the men have yet another means of adding to their income; on Saturday afternoons and nights they frequently work for retail butchers, receiving as pay perhaps 10*s* or 5*s* and a "danger" (pronounced with a short "a" and a hard "g"), *i.e.* a joint for their Sunday dinner.

There is yet another body of men who take a large share in the work of the market, and who, indeed, to the eye of the casual and inexperienced visitor, are the most prominent feature in its industry. These are the market porters whose duty it is to carry the meat from the shop to the buyer's or carrier's cart. Any person who can produce satisfactory proof of good character and fitness for such a situation may be licensed by the Corporation to act as a porter within the market upon payment of 2*s* 6*d*, the license being renewable annually without further payment. The superintendent estimates that about twelve hundred porters are in fairly regular employment. Pay is by piece at the rate of 9*d* to 1*s* for each side of beef carried, and at varying rates according to size for the carcases of other animals; the money is, as a rule, shared by two or more men who work in co-operation. Earnings vary much from day to day, but a steady man, who has his regular

customers, may often pick up as much as 10*s* in a day; one man told us that he has earned as much as £1 in three hours: this, no doubt, is most exceptional, but the pay is at a very high rate for the time actually employed.

Work begins daily at 4 A.M.; until the spring of 1895, the market closed on Monday at 4 P.M., on Tuesday and Wednesday at 2, on Thursday at 3, on Friday at 5, and on Saturday at 8, or sixty hours in all, inclusive of meal times. It was, however, universally recognized that these hours were unnecessarily long, and during the summer months of 1895 the experiment was tried of closing at 1 on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday, and at 12 on Tuesday; in October (1895) the closing hour for the first four days of the week was altered to 2 P.M., and it seems probable that that will be the hour ultimately fixed, thus reducing the hours to fifty-seven. The men are always liable if business is brisk to be detained till the hour of closing, except on Saturday, when only a few shops remain open after noon for retail trade. As a matter of fact the men are seldom, if ever, detained up to closing time except possibly on Friday, which is by far the busiest day in the week. On other days little is done after 8 A.M., and though the men probably stay about till 12 or 1, they have much liberty for the last three or four hours.

The trade is fairly regular throughout the year, and extra hands are seldom required. There is a slight falling off in the sale of meat on the first arrival of hot weather, but except in so far as this may reduce the amount of their "tips," it does not affect the earnings of those regularly employed.

The men appear to be steady and sober as a whole, at any rate in working hours. Out of four taverns which originally were opened within the market, two have been closed, while numerous coffee-houses in the immediate neighbourhood are constantly full.

Work in the market is much preferred to retail work;

though it begins earlier, the hours as a whole are shorter, and after cleaning themselves, and perhaps taking a nap, the men have the evening to themselves. Wages, too, are much higher than in the retail trade, and the discipline less strict.

As is the case throughout the trade, the work is healthy, and a fair number of elderly men are employed, especially at the scale, where the labour is light. Among the porters, as might be expected, hernia is not uncommon.

Retail Trade.—From Smithfield we pass to the shop of the retail butcher or purveyor of meat. Butchers in the strict sense of the word, *i.e.* men who kill their own meat, are, as we shall see when we come to consider the general condition of the whole trade, a rapidly decreasing class.

Wages throughout the retail trade vary greatly. Head shopmen or managers earn from 30*s* to 70*s* a week; assistants from 15*s* to 30*s*; boys from 7*s* to 14*s*. Slaughtermen are paid at the same rate as other assistants, but have some perquisites, such as the blood and bladder, from which, in some shops, they may make as much as 8*s* or 10*s* a week. The men are nearly always boarded, and in most cases lodge in the house; if they sleep out they are usually allowed an additional wage of from 3*s* to 5*s*. There appears, however, to be a growing tendency for men both to lodge and board out.

Hours, except in the West End, are from 6 or 7 A.M. to 8 or 9 P.M. on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, and till 12 P.M. on Saturday. Most butchers now close at 5 on Monday. Half an hour is allowed for breakfast and an hour for dinner; tea is usually taken in the shop. In the West End the hours are from 8 to 8.

Except in the West End, again, the trade is not seasonal; there, during the London season, extra men are generally engaged, but they are never skilled butchers, and do nothing except serve in the shop and go round with the carts. During the slack season the regular men usually

take a compulsory holiday of a month or, in some cases, two months each.

We have now taken a survey by sections of all labour employed in the meat trade; it remains only to say a few words on matters which apply equally to all the men whose position we have considered, wherever employed.

With regard to the method of learning the trade, apprenticeship in London has almost entirely died out; in the country it is still not unusual, and there is no doubt that to this fact is chiefly due the large proportion of countrymen in the trade. The Londoner has no opportunity of thoroughly learning his business, but picks up only those branches of it with which he is directly concerned. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that all the best butchers are countrymen. The various operations connected with slaughtering, and the cutting of joints after the animal is killed, need much skill and experience, and to learn the business right through requires not less than three years of proper training. The decay of apprenticeship has had its usual result in diminishing the number of skilled workmen. One of the largest masters in London told us that the butcher of thirty years ago, though more drunken and less respectable, was a much better workman than his successor of to-day. Owing to the growing tendency of the business to become a purveying trade only, the matter is of less importance than if things had continued on the old lines; but if the London butcher has now comparatively little slaughtering to do, he has still, and always will have, to cut joints; and in that operation, a bungler may lose for his master a considerable sum of money in the course of a week.

In a growing industry like this is, there are, we think, few men qualified to handle meat, alive or dead, who have much difficulty in finding work. Those who have lost work in the retail business, through bad conduct or insobriety, have a chance of making a fresh start in the

wholesale trade, for at the markets no character is demanded. A considerable number of those out of employment know little of their trade; and a growing number of unqualified butchers tend to find employment in the shops which confine their trade to frozen meat, where ability as a salesman is the chief requisite.

As to dress, the men buy their own. Jean smocks cost from 8*s* to 15*s* each; and those made of serge, from 23*s* to 30*s*. Aprons cost about 4*s* each. A man will probably require two smocks and two aprons in a year.

General Condition of the Trade.—In considering the present position of the trade, the first point that strikes one is the decay during recent years of butchers who kill their own meat, and the increase in the numbers of those who are purveyors only. This change is due to two facts: firstly, to the ease with which dead meat can now be brought to London in good condition; secondly, to the objection of the authorities to private slaughter-houses. In 1873, there were over fifteen hundred of these places in the Metropolitan area. Even before the establishment of the London County Council this number had enormously decreased. At the beginning of 1890 there were 694 licensed slaughter-houses, and at the end of 1891 there were 651. During that year, the Council's new by-laws for the regulation of these houses were confirmed by the Local Government Board and came into operation, with the result that during 1892, 117 licenses were not renewed, the premises being quite unsuited for the business, and so situated or built as to make it impossible to bring them into compliance with the new requirements. In 1893, the last year for which we have a report, 526 licenses were granted.

In spite of the protests of the trade and though there may be something to be said on the other side,* we cannot but

* Butchers assert that meat cannot be at its best unless the animal has been resting peacefully for some time before it is killed; and also that it

think that the total disappearance of private slaughter-houses will be a gain to the community; whether they are or are not a nuisance to the neighbourhood in which they exist, there can be no question that efficient inspection of the meat slaughtered in them is impossible. As one man said to us, "you can kill anything in a private slaughter-house." That much diseased meat comes from the private abattoirs in London we do not suggest, but there is at least a suspicion that some of the bad meat which finds its way to the shops in Charterhouse Street, and from there into the interior of sausage skins, has been slaughtered in London. Those butchers who own slaughter-houses contend that the loss of them would ruin their trade. In poor districts, where the butcher has a reputation for selling home-killed meat, and where customers choose their own joints, there might at first be some loss of trade, for there seems little doubt that home-killed meat can be made to look more inviting; that it tastes better we are not convinced; indeed, the meat which has been killed in the country or across the sea, is more likely to be tender than that which has never left the butcher's shop. That the private slaughter-houses will slowly die out we may fairly assume; whether public ones will take their place is a question less easy to answer; probably they will not, for unless the butcher slaughters his meat at home, he has nothing to gain by having it killed in London. Thus the final solution of the matter will probably be that London will depend for its supply more and more on meat slaughtered elsewhere. The question is of considerable economic importance in its possible effect on London labour; already the demand for slaughtermen in London must be greatly diminished, and should matters end as we suggest is likely, not only would

deteriorates much in quality if it has to be conveyed from one place to another soon after death, as it does not have time to set. It would appear from this that with the animals, as with ourselves, nature's last effort is directed towards muscular repose.

the slaughterman's trade be curtailed outside Deptford, but various other industries which depend on the slaughter-house for their material would also tend to be driven out of London. Hence it is very important to move slowly so as to give time for readjustment.

The trade generally is at present in a prosperous condition, both for capital and labour. Competent men, as already indicated, are seldom out of work for long together, and during the last twenty years wages have risen considerably. Indeed, the only grievance of the men appears to be the long hours in the retail trade, a disadvantage which they share equally with all concerned in the retailing of food. As to the masters, if their rate of profit is smaller than it was, they are probably recouped by a larger sale, due to the yearly increasing consumption of meat per head of the population. There is at least a suspicion that some masters add to their profits by the undesirable method of selling foreign meat as English; and it seems highly probable that the public are to some extent responsible for this. They insist upon having English meat, and must therefore be charged English prices, yet they actually appear to prefer the foreign meat. We have heard tales of duchesses whom it was impossible to satisfy with English meat, and who now, unconscious of the fact, blissfully feed on foreign joints.

Poulterers.

Leadenhall has for many years been the centre of the wholesale poultry trade. In 1345, a proclamation made at the Leaden Hall for men of the poultry trade declares that "foreign poulterers" (*i.e.* those who were not freemen of the city) shall bring their poultry to the Leaden Hall and there sell it, and nowhere else.

In the shops in the market there are employed :—

Salesmen at wages of from £3 to £10 a week, though few get more than £5.

Ordinary poulterers at 30*s* a week, who may add to their wages by tips from buyers, and

Boys at from 8*s* to 10*s* a week.

The hours are from 5.45 A.M. to 4 P.M., but there is not much doing after 10 o'clock, and from that hour onward the masters could well do with half the men they employ.

There is little to learn in the trade, and not so much necessity for physical strength or stamina as amongst those who handle meat, with the result that we find a large proportion of Londoners among the men.

The winter is the busiest time of the year, especially the two weeks before Christmas, and one week after; at no other time is extra labour required. During these weeks the men have to work about eighteen hours a day, and perhaps 50 per cent. of labour is added. The extra men employed are seldom, if ever, members of the trade; they are painters, bricklayers, &c. The same men often come year after year, and apply for the job a month beforehand. Men even leave their proper work to come to the market, where they can earn as much as £3 or even £4 in a week.

There are no licensed porters at Leadenhall. It is an open market in which anyone may act as a porter.

Pork-Butchers and Provision Merchants.

Wages in the pork and provision trade are rather lower than in the ordinary butcher's trade, and hours are longer. The retail pork-butchers in poor neighbourhoods particularly object to the early closing movement, as a large part of their trade consists in selling cooked provisions for supper. They contend that if they closed early the trade in cold cooked meats would be transferred to the public-house.

Among pork-butchers and sausage makers there are a

considerable number of Germans. As to the details of the sausage trade we have been able to obtain no particulars.

Meat-Essence Manufacturers.

This and infants' food manufacture are probably the only occupations included in this section where much female labour is employed. We have been able to obtain particulars only of one factory. As it has the best name of any factory in London, we may assume that the position of the employees is if anything more favourable than throughout the trade generally.

The hours for men are from 8 to 7.30; for women, girls, and boys, from 9 to 7. Half an hour is allowed for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and half an hour for tea, all meals being provided by the firm, and eaten in the factory. Men work overtime at the rate of 6*d* an hour, women at 4*d* an hour.

The wages of men range from 10*s* to 42*s* a week, the majority earning from 20*s* to 30*s* a week. Women earn from 5*s* to 16*s* a week. These figures do not include any allowance for food.

Fishmongers.

To deal with the fish trade is a shorter and easier task than with the trade in meat; the subject can almost be summed up in the one word, Billingsgate.

In very early times Queenhithe and Billingsgate were the chief city wharves for the landing of fish, which was sold in Thames Street and the surrounding locality. Queenhithe was at first the more important, but Billingsgate, being below the bridge, gradually superseded it. Billingsgate was declared, in 1559, "an open space for the landing and bringing in of any fish, corn, salt, stores, victuals and fruit (grocery wares excepted), and to be a place of carrying forth of the same or the like and for no other merchandise." In 1699, it was made a "free and

open market for all sorts of fish." The market consisted only of shed buildings until 1850, when it was rebuilt. It still remained too small, and in 1874 was again rebuilt and enlarged. The present market contains an area of about 30,000 feet.

Fish comes to the market both by water and by land. In 1894 there were received 87,232 tons of land-borne fish, and 41,129 tons of water-borne. The water-borne fish is caught chiefly in the North Sea, and is collected from the fishing fleets by steam carriers, belonging to various fish-carrying companies. It is packed in loose ice in boxes known as "trunks," each containing about 90 lbs. of fish. On arrival it is unloaded by the market porters, and sold by auction by the companies themselves. The land-borne fish is collected at the various seaports around the coast of Great Britain and Ireland, and sent to London by train. It is consigned to commission salesmen at the market, and is sold by them chiefly by private contract, but in some cases by auction. It is usually packed in "trunks," but sometimes loose in large boxes known as "machines," holding about two tons.

There are 180 tenants in Billingsgate, but few of them require much labour beyond that of the licensed porters. The larger firms employ salesmen at from £2 to £6 a week; masters who do their own selling have foremen at from £2 to £3 a week; and assistants are employed in inspecting, cleaning fish, packing "empties," &c., at wages of about £2. The foremen add something to their wages by "tips" from buyers, who usually give them 1*d* on each box or package of fish purchased.

The work of the market, however, consists mainly of porterage, and it is the porters in their dirty white smocks, and with their oddly shaped hats fortified by several layers of some hard material, who strike the eye of a visitor, and give to the market its air of life and incessant movement. These men are licensed by the Corporation, on terms

identical with the porters at Smithfield. Two thousand badges are now (1895) out, but of the men licensed not more than six hundred work regularly. They are paid by the piece at varying rates. Their earnings cannot be accurately estimated; but a man who is steady and regular may often make as much as £3 a week. Many of them, however, are not fond of work, and leave off when they think they have made a fair day's wage.

The work begins at 5 A.M., and little is done after 9, by which hour all carriers' and fishmongers' carts have to clear out of the surrounding streets. All fish therefore which has not been taken away before 9, has to be carried by porters for some distance. The men who have permanent jobs in the market shops usually stay on till 1 or 2, packing, cleaning, &c. Foremen have to attend on Sunday, as fish is delivered on that day.

Though it varies much from day to day according to the supply of fish, the trade is regular throughout the year. As soon as the season for one fish is over another begins. In times of extra stress the shopmen may sometimes take on additional help for the day, but such labour is always supplied by the market porters, of whom a larger number will attend if the news is spread that business is likely to be brisk.

As to the character of the men, those regularly employed in the shops and at the stalls are a highly respectable body; but among the porters there are a number whose character is not good. While actually at work, they refrain from drink; indeed, a drunken man would soon fall under the heavy weights they have to carry on their heads; but after work is over there is apparently a great deal of drinking; though in this respect there has been improvement in recent years.

In the matter of language Billingsgate appears to be maligned. In the course of some hours spent in the market during the busiest time we did not once hear either

"a big, big D," or "the universal adjective." We do not suppose that the porters are saints, and during their hours of playtime no doubt their language is as freely larded with oaths as among others of their class, but that they are any worse than their neighbours we do not believe. Our opinion that the language used in the market is decorous, is confirmed by the superintendent, who lives on the premises.

The work is, on the whole, healthy, though there is a tendency to heart disease among the men, and many of them grow bald at an early age through carrying weights on their head.

An interesting figure at Billingsgate is the "bummaree." Fish comes to the market unsorted as to size, and in many cases one trunk will contain various kinds. It would seldom pay the retail fishmongers to buy the whole of a trunk, while the commission salesmen have no time for sorting. A great part of the fish in the market is therefore bought by middlemen, called bummarees, who sort it for the convenience of retail buyers. The bummaree does not appear to be too highly paid for his services; his business is extremely speculative; the price of fish goes up and down in the course of a morning with alarming rapidity, and a man who buys early may often find at the end of the day that he has made a heavy loss on his purchases.

That the general trade is prosperous is proved by the excessive competition for any stalls or shops which fall vacant. We doubt if this prosperity is founded, as has been so often alleged, upon any combination among the salesmen to keep up prices, or to prevent fish from being sold elsewhere. Retailers tell us that the competition among the salesmen is exceedingly keen. As to the further charge that the Billingsgate salesmen have ruined all attempts at opposition, there is this justification for it: that two markets (Columbia and Shadwell),* both larger and

* In November, 1895, Shadwell is showing signs of increasing prosperity.

better equipped, have failed, one hopelessly, and the other partially; but both these markets were badly situated, and to this and the natural conservatism of both buyers and sellers we may look for the explanation of their failure, rather than to evil machinations of the "Billingsgate Ring." The fish-market must be on the river, and Shadwell is too far east. In spite of its smallness, and the excessive inconvenience caused by the narrow approaches, Billingsgate still remains the best market for the retail trader, and seems likely to retain its monopoly.

Small as the market is there seems to be little difficulty in dealing with the largest supply that ever comes there, though business would be enormously facilitated if the approaches could be improved.

Retail Fishmongers.—In retail shops the hours are usually from 7 A.M. to 9 P.M., with two hours off for meals. Wages range from 4*s* a week for boys to 36*s* a week for men. It is not usual to live or take meals on the premises. People eat more fish in the summer than in the winter, and the busiest time is from the beginning of April to the end of September.

Haddock-curers.—Haddock-curers begin work at 10 A.M., and, with an hour's interval for dinner, work on to 6 P.M. During this time they clean, cut, and prepare the fish, finally hanging it on rods in the smoke-hole. It is left to smoke for four hours, the men returning to work at 10 P.M., when they take the fish out and pack it for despatch to the market.

The men are paid 5*s* for day, and 5*s* 6*d* or 6*s* for night-work. They work on Sundays, that the fish may be freshly cured for Monday's market, but do nothing on Saturdays. Even if they have the opportunity few men do a full week's work. They are said to be drunken and improvident, and when they have earned £1 will often not be seen again until it is spent.

The trade is largely confined to certain families, and

there are several small colonies of haddock-curers in the poorer districts of London—one being in Bethnal Green, and another in Camberwell—the colour of the streets in which they live ranging as a rule from black to violet on our map of poverty.

The trade is most brisk in the winter, when not only is there the best supply of fish, but the public demand is largest. As the poor are the chief consumers of cured-haddocks, it is useless for the curers to do much when the supply is short, for their customers are unable to pay such a sum as will recoup them for the enhanced price of the fish. With a short supply little work is done except for the West End trade.

Trade Organization.

There is no organization among the men in this section, with the exception that a few of the porters at Billingsgate belong to the Dockers' Union.

Among butchers the employers are associated in the London Butchers' Trade Society.

Fishmongers have a society called the London Fish Trades' Association, as to which we have not been able to obtain particulars.

Wages Statistics.

The census shows that 14,873 adult males were employed in these trades in 1891. We have received returns from fifteen firms, employing 223 men as under :—

Butchers, poulterers, and provision merchants	10	=15 firms.
Bacon-dryers	2	
Meat-essence maker	1	
Infants' food manufacturer	1	
Fishmonger	1	

The earnings of the adult men thus employed were returned as:—

Below 20*s*.....	40, or 18	per cent.	Under 30*s*, 60 per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*.....	44 ,, 20	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*.....	49 ,, 22	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*.....	23 ,, 10½	,,	30*s* and over, 40 per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s*.....	17 ,, 7½	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*.....	32 ,, 14	,,	
45*s* and upwards...	18 ,, 8	,,	
	223 ,, 100	,,	

Social Condition.

Of the 14,873 adult men employed, about nine thousand come under social classification as heads of families. The following table shows that 34 per cent. are living under crowded conditions, as compared with 38 per cent. returned as earning less than 25*s* a week; that 29 per cent. live one or two persons in a room, compared with 32½ per cent. earning 25*s* to 35*s*; and finally, that the central class of 37 per cent. compare with 29½ per cent. earning over 35*s*:—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Butchers and Fishmongers).

Earnings as returned.			*Classification of Population.*			
Below 20*s*...	40 or 18	per cent.	3 or more in each room,	6350, or 12	per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*...	44 ,, 20	,,	2 to 3 ,,	12,450 ,, 22	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	49 ,, 22	,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	16,350 ,, 29	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	23 ,, 10½	,,	Less than 1 ,,			
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	17 ,, 7½	,,	More than 4 rooms	20,250 ,, 37	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	32 ,, 14	,,	4 or more persons to a servant ...			
45*s* and upwards	18 ,, 8	,,				
	223 ,, 100	,,		55,400 ,, 100	,,	
			Employers' families and servants ...	25,000		
				80,400		

The agreement between these figures is fairly close; such discrepancy as exists may be due to the fact that in our returns are included a considerable number of men employed in the markets, whose full earnings are not represented by their wages.

CHAPTER VI.

GROCERS, OIL AND COLOURMEN, &c. (*Section* 52.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females. All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
(1) Grocer	1916	4192	10,797	1065	17,970
(2) Oil and colour	1592	1650	5530	758	9530
(3) Greengrocer	388	765	2536	342	4031
Total	3896	6607	18,863	2165	31,531

The diagram opposite shows, as might be expected, an excessive proportion of quite young people. Young men are greatly preferred as assistants.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	14,947	Heads of Fami 15,870.
	Females	923	
Birthplace	In London .... 50 %	7909	
	Out of London 50 %	7961	
Industrial Status ..	Employer .... 34 %	5442	
	Employed .... 41 %	6489	
	Neither ..... 25 %	3939	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	T
Total.	15,870	16,514	39,345	3299	7
Average in family ..	1	1·04	2·48	·21	

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
5066	7246	6900	12,319	31,531

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part II.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	3582	4·8
2 & under 3 ,,	7975	10·6
1 & under 2 ,,	13,638	18·2
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	41,867	55·8
Less than 4 to 1 servant & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	3646	4·9
All others with 2 or more servants..	1021	1·3
Servants	3299	4·4
	75,028	100

Distribution.

East	Inner 9490	1
	Outer 2735	
North	Inner 2939	1
	Outer 14,242	
West	Inner 1684	1
	Outer 10,143	
Central Inner	4291	
South-East	Inner 2319	1
	Outer 12,171	
South-West	Inner 5010	1
	Outer 10,001	

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	25 %	10 %	15½ %
Not ,, ..	75 %	90 %	84½ %

Inner 25,733, or 34 %
Outer 49,295, or 66 %

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

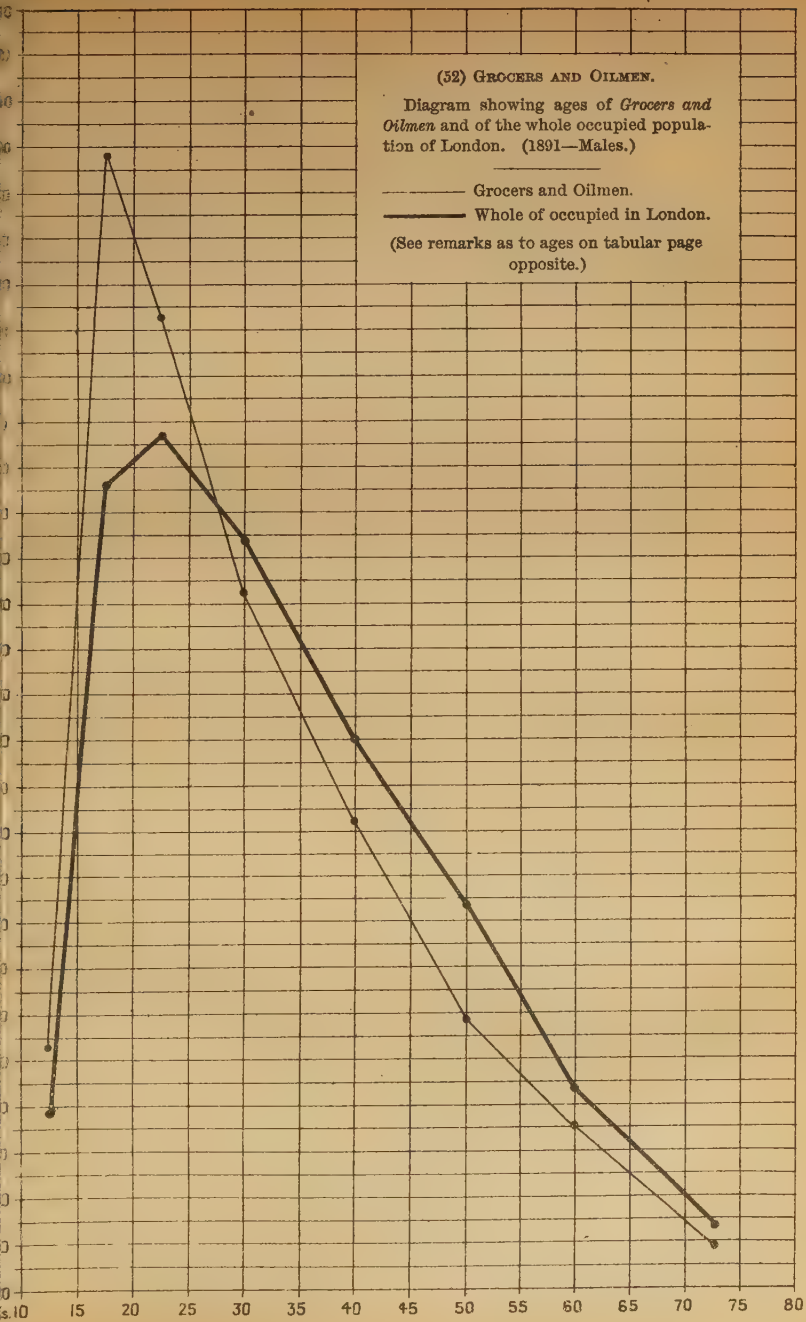
(1) Grocer, tea, coffee, chocolate dealer; cocoa manufacturer, roaster, packer, puncher; coffee roaster, Italian warehouseman, tea mixer.
(2) Greengrocer, fruiterer, fruit salesman.
(3) Oil and colourman, oil merchant, dealer.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers. Males.	Employers. Females	Employed. Males. Under 20.	Employed. Males. Over 20.	Employed. Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females	To
(1) Grocer	2376	222	4192	7762	1242	1724	452	17,9
(2) Oil and colourman	2153	244	1650	2281	1044	1854	304	9
(3) Greengrocer	901	94	765	1499	221	478	73	4
	5430	560	6607	11,542	2507	4056	829	31,5
Total.....	5990		20,656			4885		

Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 3½.

(For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.).



Wholesale Grocers.

Wholesale grocers, even if we include among them importers, brokers, and agents, are few in number. The retailers obtain the bulk of their goods either direct from manufacturers, or from wholesale firms which supply only one article, such as tea or coffee. There are, however, a certain number of genuine wholesale grocers, who deal in all or nearly all the articles which are commonly sold in retail shops. In these firms only two classes of labour are employed, that of clerks and warehousemen. With clerks we are not here concerned; the duties of the warehousemen are mainly carrying, packing, sorting, labelling, &c. Though most of them no doubt acquire some knowledge of the goods they handle, it is not essential to their proficiency, and their work may on the whole be classed as unskilled. The chief requisites are: for those who have to carry weights, strength; and for packers, sorters, and labellers, quickness and neatness. The majority of these men get wages of 20*s* to 30*s*, though a few foremen earn up to 45*s* or 50*s* a week. A large number of lads and boys are employed, and a good many women, especially in labelling. There is a tendency now to substitute women's labour in departments formerly occupied by men.

The recognized hours are fifty-four, though we have heard of one case of a large co-operative society, where only forty-four hours are worked. There is a certain amount of overtime, especially during the months from October to January; it is paid for in proportion to the rate of wages at from 4*d* to 8*d* per hour.

The busy season is during the last quarter of the year, when it is usually necessary to employ a few extra hands. The trade is, however, more regular than it used to be, owing to the increased number of articles now sold by retail grocers, many of them goods which are more in request in summer than in winter, thus tending to equalize the trade between the two seasons.

Until comparatively recent years, it was the invariable practice for warehousemen to live and board on the premises, but the custom now appears to be extinct. With the decay of this practice the position of the men seems to have greatly improved ; their wages are higher than they were, and the hours very much shorter. The head of the largest firm in London told us that not more than thirty years ago work continued daily till 9 o'clock, and on Saturdays till 11, while holidays were unknown. With shorter hours and better pay there has been a vast improvement in the manners and morals of the men.

Retail Grocers.

To describe the functions of the modern retail grocer is exceedingly difficult. Originally a grocer was a tradesman who sold little else but tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar and spices ; his tendency to entrench to some extent on the provinces of other trades is no doubt of old standing, but it is only under the stress of competition with "the stores" that he has gradually extended his business until it now embraces a number of trades which were at one time totally distinct; two indeed, those of the Italian warehouseman, and the tallow chandler, seem now to have no separate existence. The Italian warehouseman sold only foreign produce, such as macaroni, olive oil, sardines, &c., his trade is merged in that of the grocer. The tallow chandler dealt mainly in soap and candles, articles which are now sold only by grocers or oil and colourmen. Other trades, such as that of the provision dealer, the cheesemonger, and the oil and colourman are still separately carried on, but there is much overlapping between them and the grocer, while nearly all the prominent men combine these various businesses under one or it may be many roofs, for grocers and oil and colourmen have a number of branch establishments more commonly than the members of any other trade.

The change in the character of articles supplied—as for

instance, the production of preserved milk and canned vegetables and meats, and the supply of pickles and preserves, formerly made at home—and altogether an amazing extension in the requisites of household consumption, has had a great influence on the development of the grocers' business. The wine licenses had also an effect.

Hours and Earnings.—In a trade so large and, as far as labour is concerned, so unorganized, there is, naturally, great diversity of wage, but the general scale of remuneration appears to be as follows :—The manager of a branch shop gets from 30*s* to 60*s* a week, with board and lodging; a first-counterman from 24*s* to 35*s*, or from 14*s* to 25*s* with board and lodging ; a second-counterman from 20*s* to 25*s*, or from 10*s* to 16*s* with board and lodging; a third-counterman from 14*s* to 24*s*, or from 8*s* to 12*s* with board and lodging; those who, living out, get so little as 14*s* are probably only lads. The minimum wage of men who live out appears to be about 20*s* and the maximum 40*s*; of those whose remuneration includes board and lodging, the maximum is about 20*s*, and the minimum 8*s*. Throughout the trade the average wage for those who live out is probably about 25*s*, and for those who live in 14*s* a week. A number of lads and boys are employed at lower wages.

Though probably the majority of grocers' assistants still live in, there is a growing tendency to rebel against the custom. More men every year object to the necessary restrictions on their liberty. Though masters seem generally to prefer that their assistants should live on the premises, they recognize that their objection to do so is not without compensations. With the constantly increasing standard of comfort, they have become much more exacting, and to keep them involves more trouble and expense than was once the case.

In large establishments there are often deductions from wages in the shape of fines, which are as a rule appropriated

to the purchase of books and papers, or to other kindred objects.

Men have to buy aprons for themselves at a cost of from 1*s* to 2*s* each, and will require from three to six a year. They are also obliged to wear several clean white shirts a week, which, in addition to first cost and renewal, involves an expenditure of not less than 1*s* a week for washing.

There seems no reason to suppose that there is much opportunity of adding to earnings by illegitimate methods; in nearly all shops a cashier is employed or there is a check till. Masters, however, complain that men—and especially those who live out—not unfrequently help themselves to food.

Excepting in high-class businesses in the West End, the hours are very long. The almost universal time of opening is 8 A.M.; in some cases the men come down to dust and arrange before that hour, but not as a rule; the usual closing hour for the first four days of the week is 9 or 9·30, with the exception that in most districts there has been a movement towards voluntary early closing, usually at 5 o'clock, on one of these days; on Fridays few shops close before 10·30 or 11; and on Saturday the usual hour is 12; assuming that a shop closes at 5 once a week, and that each man is allowed daily intervals of one and a half hours for meals, the actual hours of work will vary from seventy to seventy-five a week. Excepting perhaps immediately before Christmas, there is little overtime. Though masters are for the most part opposed to compulsory shortening of hours they fully recognize the evils of the present system, for which they say justly that the public are mainly responsible. During the last twenty years there has undoubtedly been some improvement in this matter. Hours are certainly shorter than they were, partly owing to the general tendency towards better conditions of labour on all sides, but in this particular case, partly also to the fact that

there is actually less work to be done. The retail grocer used to cut his sugar, mix his tea, clean his fruit, and perform a number of other tasks which are now taken off his hands by the manufacturers and wholesale houses; almost all goods are now delivered to him in a fit condition for sale, and there is little or no necessity for warehouse work of any kind after the shop is closed.

There are few, if any, shops where the assistants are not allowed a holiday during the year; certainly in large businesses the custom is universal. The holiday lasts as a rule for about five days—from Sunday or Monday to Friday or Saturday. Masters cannot afford to do without their men on Saturday.

Regularity.—The busy season is during the two months before Christmas, and in December at all events most grocers are obliged to take on extra hands, who are often recruited from members of the trade who have fallen out through age. Trade in the summer months is always slack, but regular hands are never dismissed. Owing to the varied character of the goods now sold by the grocer there is, however, as already stated, much less difference in amount of work between winter and summer than was formerly the case.

Method of learning.—As in other trades, apprenticeship is dying out. Masters generally take less interest in their assistants than they used to, and, even when they could teach them, do not trouble to do so, with the result that men are rapidly becoming salesmen and nothing more. There is, however, less necessity for knowledge than there used to be; owing to the growing practice of selling chiefly proprietary articles and packet goods, it is possible for a good man of business to prosper with a very slight knowledge of the wares in which he deals. At the same time the most successful men are those who have really learnt the trade in the old-fashioned way, and who thoroughly understand the different qualities of tea, coffee,

sugar, &c. Ignorance on these matters leads to too great a dependence on the wholesale house and the traveller.

Health.—In spite of the long hours, the trade does not appear to be unhealthy; there is little reason why men should not work on to a good age, yet a grocer's assistant who is elderly is exceedingly rare. This is due partly to the fact that most masters prefer that their men should live on the premises, and therefore avoid those who are married; but the chief cause which drives men out of the trade early in life is the preference of customers for youth. Some, when too old for the retail, get work in the wholesale trade; but the majority seem to turn to travelling or canvassing, a field of labour for which they are usually well qualified, as they are better educated and socially of a higher class than all other shop employees, except draper's assistants.

Condition of the Trade.—Among grocers, as among other shopkeepers, the small man has fallen on evil days. In no trade apparently has "cutting" been fiercer. The competition of "the stores" has forced grocers to lower their prices until it is now exceedingly difficult for the man with only one shop to make a living; in a few years' time the trade will probably be confined to large firms, and to a certain number of very small shops in poor districts, where the master is on the same social level as his customers. At present (1895) grocers throughout the country are much agitated by an "anti-cutting" scheme by which ruinous competition may be checked. In a trade of which the members are "as the sands of the sea," any attempt to deal with the matter by organized agreement seems little short of hopeless. And though the fierce competition has no doubt led to the failure of many of the weaker members, there seems little reason to suppose that grocers are not generally as prosperous as other tradesmen. Though it is in fewer hands, the volume of trade increases greatly from year to year. This growth may be attributed partly, no

doubt, to the constantly increasing consumption of articles of food, such as tea and sugar, which may fairly be regarded as necessaries; but it is due, probably, even in larger measure to the sale of luxuries, some of which until recent years formed no part of a grocer's stock. What proportion of the grocer's profit comes from the sale of such articles we are unable to estimate, but the production of preserved milk, tinned meats, fruit and vegetables, and prepared goods of innumerable kinds, has no doubt led to an enormous extension of trade, and points to a general increase in the well-being of the community.

Tea and Coffee Dealers.

Tea.—With the exception of tea tasters, who earn very large salaries, all those employed in the wholesale tea trade are classed as warehousemen; their duties consist only in mixing, packing, and labelling, none of which operations require more than the smallest modicum of skill. A blend of tea may require any number of different varieties, from two up to twenty. The taster, having decided on the blend, writes it out in the instruction book, from which the mixers are required to work. On the top floor of the building the various teas are placed in their proper proportions in a wooden hopper; when this is full a slide at the bottom is drawn and the tea falls into a hollow sphere of iron, which revolves slowly on a central axis, the tea being mixed by the resistance of a set of blunt knives fixed in the centre. Each load is allowed to revolve for twenty-five minutes, and is then discharged through a wooden shoot into bins on the floor beneath. From these it is taken, weighed, and placed in smaller receptacles, holding about 150 lbs., and allowed to stand for seven days in order that the flavour may assimilate.

The bins of tea are then removed to the packing-room, where they are placed above the packing-bench on a sloping platform. The process of packing is performed by young employees; the weigher scales out the tea from the bin, the folder makes packets of the requisite size, into which the packer wraps the tea. The labelling, which is the last process, is usually performed by women.

Wages differ much in various houses; in some cases we believe the work is entirely done by women, when the rates no doubt are low. A fair rate of pay seems to be about 2*s* 1*d* for each 100 lbs. packed; of this sum the packer takes 10*d*, the folder 6*d*, the labeller 5*d*, and the weigher 4*d*. The gang, working for forty-eight hours a week, would pack from 2800 to 3000 lbs.; supposing the amount to be the larger quantity, the packer would earn 25*s*, the folder 15*s*, the labeller 12*s* 6*d*, and the weigher 10*s*; it should be remembered that most of those (other than women) employed in the work are little more than lads.

The trade is constant throughout the year, and there is seldom any necessity for extra hands.

Coffee.—Of those employed in the wholesale coffee trade none but roasters are in any sense skilled workmen. Roasting, however, is an operation which requires much experience combined with great care and attention, as it is of the utmost importance that the berry should neither be over nor underdone. There are several varieties of machine used for roasting, but that now most generally employed is an open pan with perforated bottom, which is made to revolve over jets of gas. The roasted berries are poured from this pan into a trough with a wirework bottom, through which a blast of air is driven to cool them. From the cooler they are passed through hoppers into grinding-mills on a lower floor; the ground coffee is mixed with chicory, and then packed and labelled.

Coffee roasters are paid from 27*s* to 45*s* a week. The

work of packing and labelling is nearly always done by women, who earn about the same wages as in tea packing.

The sale of coffee falls off greatly in the summer, and fewer hands are employed, but as there are no houses where the trade is confined to coffee, the employees who are not wanted in that department can often be placed elsewhere.

Cocoa Manufacturers.

The process of cocoa manufacture begins with the roasting of the nuts in a hollow globe of metal over an open coke fire. The roasted nuts are poured into a winnowing machine, where they are broken, and the husks blown away. The pieces are then ground between two revolving stones at a temperature of 100 degrees Fahrenheit; from the grinding machine the cocoa issues in a semi-fluid state to be caught in trays, whence it is transferred to hydraulic presses, which squeeze out the oily matter or butter, as it is called. The blocks of pure cocoa which remain are again ground and sifted to a powder as fine as possible, known as "essence of cocoa."

The wages for men in a cocoa factory range from 24*s* to 37*s*. A very large proportion of the work, however, is performed by women.

The trade in cocoa is seasonal; it is chiefly a winter drink, and some of the hands are discharged in the summer.

Oil and Colourmen.

The oil and colourman was at one time, as his name denotes, a tradesman who dealt chiefly in paints, and the oils for mixing them; though in this one province he still seems to reign alone, he has added, and is still adding,

innumerable other articles to his stock; he now sells pickles, sauces, soap, tallow chandlery, firewood, tinned goods, jams, brushes, baskets, ironmongery, hardware, lamps, china, &c. Where he trenches upon the grocer's province, or that of any other tradesman, his goods are generally of a cheaper, if not an inferior, kind. Of late years, owing to the cheapness of petroleum, oils for lighting purposes have become one of his chief wares.

Wages and hours in the trade differ little from those in grocery; earnings are certainly a trifle higher, perhaps 10 per cent., and if anything hours are slightly longer. The difference in wages is alleged to be due to the comparatively dirty character of the trade, and from this cause, too, the employees are socially of a lower class.

Greengrocers.

The wholesale greengrocery trade of London is carried on entirely at the great markets, of which the principal are Covent Garden, Spitalfields, Borough, the Great Northern Railway Potato Market, and the Midland Railway Vegetable Market.

With Covent Garden we have already dealt in a previous volume. It is the great central market of London for vegetables, fruit, and flowers.

The trade is carried on by auctioneers or brokers and salesmen, who employ little or no labour beyond that of porters. At one time no one was allowed to work as a porter in the market unless licensed by the Duke of Bedford; nominally this rule is still in operation, but it does not now appear to be enforced.

The business of the auctioneer is conducted chiefly in the Floral Hall, and here a special set of porters are engaged in receiving goods from the railway vans and other vehicles bringing produce to the market, and in carrying goods from the Floral Hall to the salesmen in the market proper

and to the carts of retail dealers who attend the auctions. When employed in carrying goods into the Floral Hall these men are paid a daily wage ranging from 7*s* to 12*s*; when delivering goods purchased at auction to the salesmen in the market or to retail traders, they are paid by "turns," the remuneration varying according to the distance packages are carried, and with the character of the goods. It is not easy to estimate their earnings, but in the height of the season, that is during May, June, and July, they are certainly large, ranging in many cases from £3 to £4 a week; but to obtain such a sum the men have to work exceedingly hard for very long hours. At other periods of the year the earnings are much smaller, and may drop to only a few shillings a day.

Besides those employed by the auctioneers, other porters are engaged by the salesmen in the market proper and deliver the goods purchased to the retail dealer. In some cases these men are paid entirely by "turns," but more usually they receive a fixed weekly wage, and an additional sum for each package they carry. It is the custom of the salesmen to charge each "turn" to the buyer and to include it in his account, thus ensuring the receipt of the money by the porter. The standing wage of these men varies from 20*s* to 30*s* a week, and their "turns" probably average about 10*s* to 15*s*, making a weekly wage ranging from 30*s* to 45*s*.

Hours vary a good deal from day to day and according to the season of the year, but on an average they amount to not less than twelve a day.

The busy time is during the summer months, and especially the strawberry season. Most of the tenants have depôts at King's Cross or one of the other markets, and when work is slack at Covent Garden are usually able to employ their permanent hands elsewhere; for at the other markets, where potatoes are the staple article of trade, winter is the busiest season.

In 1889 a union was started among the porters; a large number of those employed in the Floral Hall (but few others) joined it, and in the following year succeeded in obtaining an advance in their rates of payment ranging from 25 to 50 per cent., which has been maintained since that date. The union is still in existence, and is said to contain about three hundred financial members.

At the other wholesale markets the earnings of permanent hands differ little from those at Covent Garden, and average from 25*s* to 45*s* a week; but at these markets there are a large number of casual labourers of a very rough class, whose earnings as porters it is impossible to estimate.

At all the markets the permanent hands are a fairly steady set of men, though throughout the greengrocery trade generally the assistants are of low social standing. The porters, however, who are not permanently employed, but whose wages vary from day to day, and week to week, are an unusually rough and improvident class. In the days of plenty they seem to make no provision for the lean days of winter, and are then often reduced to utter destitution.

Retail Greengrocers.

Few men lead a harder life than a master greengrocer, at all events when, as most of them are, he is in a small way of business. He must be at market not later than 4 A.M., and on most days is at work till 10 or 10.30 P.M., and on Saturdays till 1 or 1.30 A.M. His assistants have somewhat shorter hours; one of them at least will be required for market work; in summer he will begin at 3 A.M., and finish about 6 P.M.; in winter his day's work will, perhaps, be two hours shorter. He reaches home from market about 8 A.M., and spends the remainder of his

time in soliciting orders or delivering goods, and in attending to the horses. The shop salesmen work, as a rule, the same hours as grocers, though perhaps, if anything, a little longer.

The wages of assistants vary from 20*s* to 30*s* a week. Men have nothing to buy except aprons, at a cost of about 5*s* a year.

The busy time is during the "soft fruit season," for about three months from the end of May, and at this period most masters require extra hands, while additional help may also be needed on Saturdays and at Christmas. As the work is quite unskilled, those who are taken on at times of stress are seldom greengrocers, but for the most part men who do not seek regular work.

Among shopkeepers, greengrocers stand low in the social scale; the work is hard and rough; both masters and men are, as a rule, poorly educated; no other business can be started with so small a capital, and little skill or knowledge of any kind is required.

Trade Organization.

With the exception that a few, no doubt, belong to the Shop Assistants' Union, there is no organization among the men in this section.

The Covent Garden porters, who, as already noted, have a union, are not strictly included here, and it has been more convenient to deal with them in connection with the calling to which they may be said to belong.

Among the masters there is the Metropolitan Grocers' and Provision Dealers' Association.

Wages Statistics.

The census shows that 11,542 adult men were employed in these trades in 1891, and concerning these we have

returns from twenty-five firms, employing 770 men. The occupations these firms represent are as follows :—

Grocers, Oil and Colourmen, &c.	18	= 25 firms.
Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa	7	

The earnings of the adult men thus employed were, in an average week :—

Under 20*s*.	79,	or 10½	per cent.	Under 30*s*, 64½ per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*.	173	,, 22½	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*.	242	,, 31½	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*.	156	,, 20	,,	30*s* and over, 35½ per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s*.	61	,, 8	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*.	20	,, 2½	,,	
45*s* and upwards.	39	,, 5	,,	
	770	,, 100	,,	

Of women and girls working for the same firms, we have returns for 314, of whom 41 per cent. earned under 12*s*; and of boys, 344, of whom 62½ per cent. received under 12*s*.

Social Condition.

Of the 11,542 adult men employed, about 6000 are heads of families, and come under social classification. The table which follows shows that 39 per cent. are living under crowded conditions, as compared with 33 per cent. earning under 25*s* a week; next, that 47 per cent. live one or two persons in a room, compared with 51½ per cent. earning 25*s* to 35*s*; and finally, that the central classes are 14 per cent. as compared with 15½ per cent. earning 35*s* and over, as is shown in the table which follows :—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Grocers, &c.).

Earnings as returned.			*Classification of Population.*			
Below 20*s*...	79,	or 10½ per cent.	3 or more in each room,	3600,	or 12 per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*...	173	,, 22½ ,,	2 to 3 ,,	8000	,, 27 ,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	242	,, 31½ ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	13,600	,, 47 ,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	156	,, 20 ,,	Less than 1 ,,			
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	61	,, 8 ,,	More than 4 rooms	4100	,, 14 ,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	20	,, 2½ ,,	4 or more persons to a servant			
45*s* and upwards	39	,, 5 ,,				
	770	,, 100 ,,		29,300	,, 100 ,,	
			Families of employers, servants, &c. . . .	27,900		
			Families of those neither employers nor employed .	17,800		
				75,000		

CHAPTER VII.

PUBLICANS AND COFFEE-HOUSE KEEPERS.

PUBLICANS. (*Section* 53.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
(1) Hotel keeper, publican	815	38	5090	745	6688
(2) Beer-seller, ale and porter dealer	317	22	1460	301	2100
(3) Cellarman	390	762	2763	176	4091
(4) Wine and spirit merchant	124	195	1506	287	2112
TOTAL....	1646	1017	10,819	1509	14,991

In this group the average age is very high—partly because it comprises trades which are taken up by men who have retired from other occupations, and partly because the young employees are to be found returned as servants. (*See* diagram.)

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
3015	3344	3683	4949	14,991

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Innkeeper, publican, licensed victualler.
(2) Beer-seller, ale, porter, cider dealer.
(3) Cellarman; wine or beer bottler; wine cooper; bottle capper, cleaner, washer, wirer; cask washer, steamer.
(4) Wine, spirit, merchant; British wine maker; distiller.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	10,234	Heads of Families 11,050.
	Females	816	
Birthplace	In London	51% 5657	
	Out of London..	49% 5393	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	52% 5706	
	Employed.....	35% 3916	
	Neither	13% 1428	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total
Total	11,050	18,082	26,066	6011	61,2
Average in family..	1	1·64	2·36	·54	5·5

CLASSIFICATION.

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	2345	3·8
2 & under 3 ,,	3691	6·0
1 & under 2 ,,	4955	8·1
Less than 1 ,, More than 1 room 4 or more persons to a servant ..	34,594	56·6
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	7460	12·3
All others with 2 or more servants ..	2153	3·4
Servants	6011	9·8
	61,209	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	12 %	8 %	10 %
Not ,, ..	88 %	92 %	90 %

DISTRIBUTION.

For full details see Appendix (Part II.).

East	Inner	9142	11,4
	Outer	2304	
North	Inner	3393	13,7
	Outer	10,310	
West	Inner	2273	87
	Outer	6159	
Central	Inner	6846	68
South-East	Inner	2293	98
	Outer	7566	
South-West	Inner	4790	10,6
	Outer	5833	
			61,2

Inner 28,737, or 47 %
Outer 32,472, or 53 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed. Males.		Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
(1) Hotel-keeper, inn-keeper, publican ..	4252	558	15	1050	206	556	51	6688
(2) Beer-seller, ale and porter dealer	764	127	10	205	76	804	114	2100
(3) Cellarman	—	—	762	2939	390	—	—	4091
(4) Wine and spirit merchant, distiller ..	802	18	14	1001	101	171	5	2112
	5818	703	801	5195	773	1531	170	14,991
TOTAL.....	6521		6769			1701		

(For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)

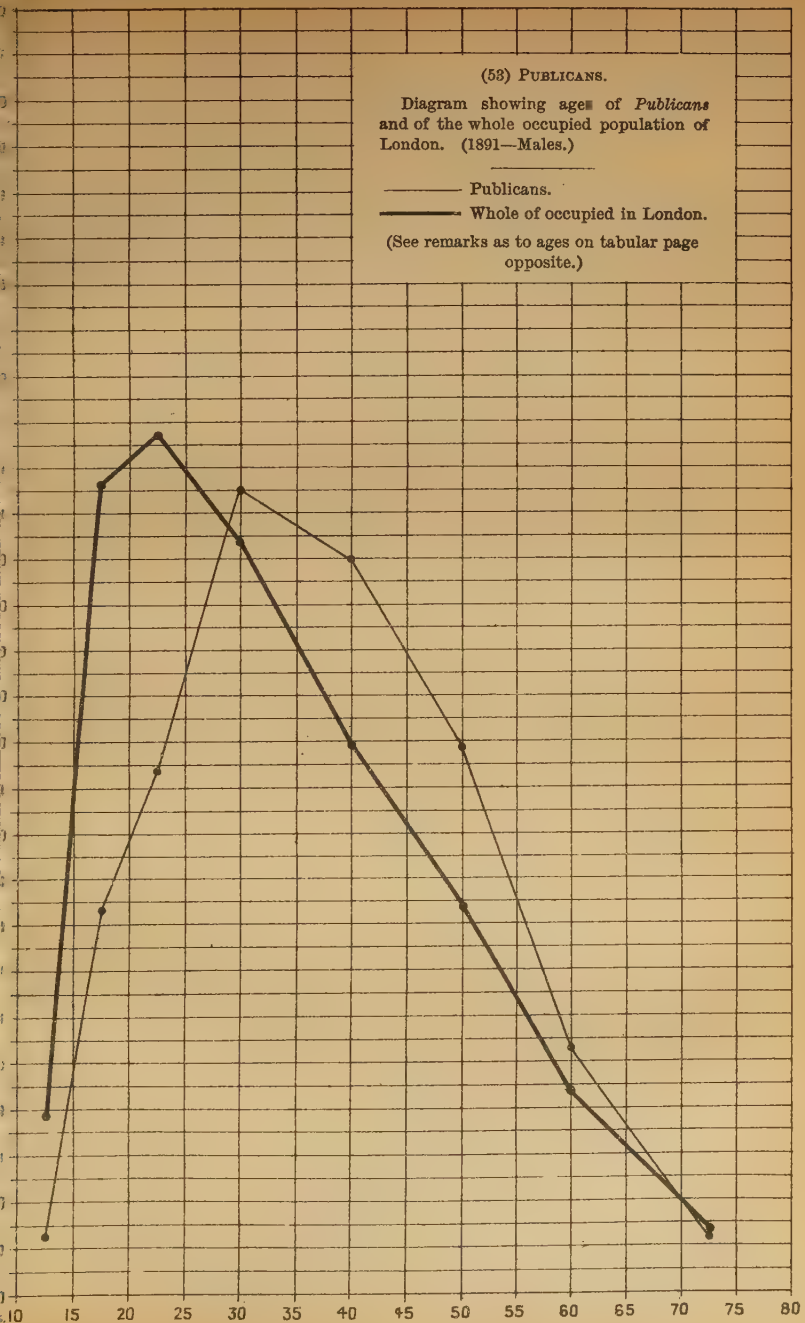
(53) PUBLICANS.

Diagram showing ages of *Publicans* and of the whole occupied population of London. (1891—Males.)

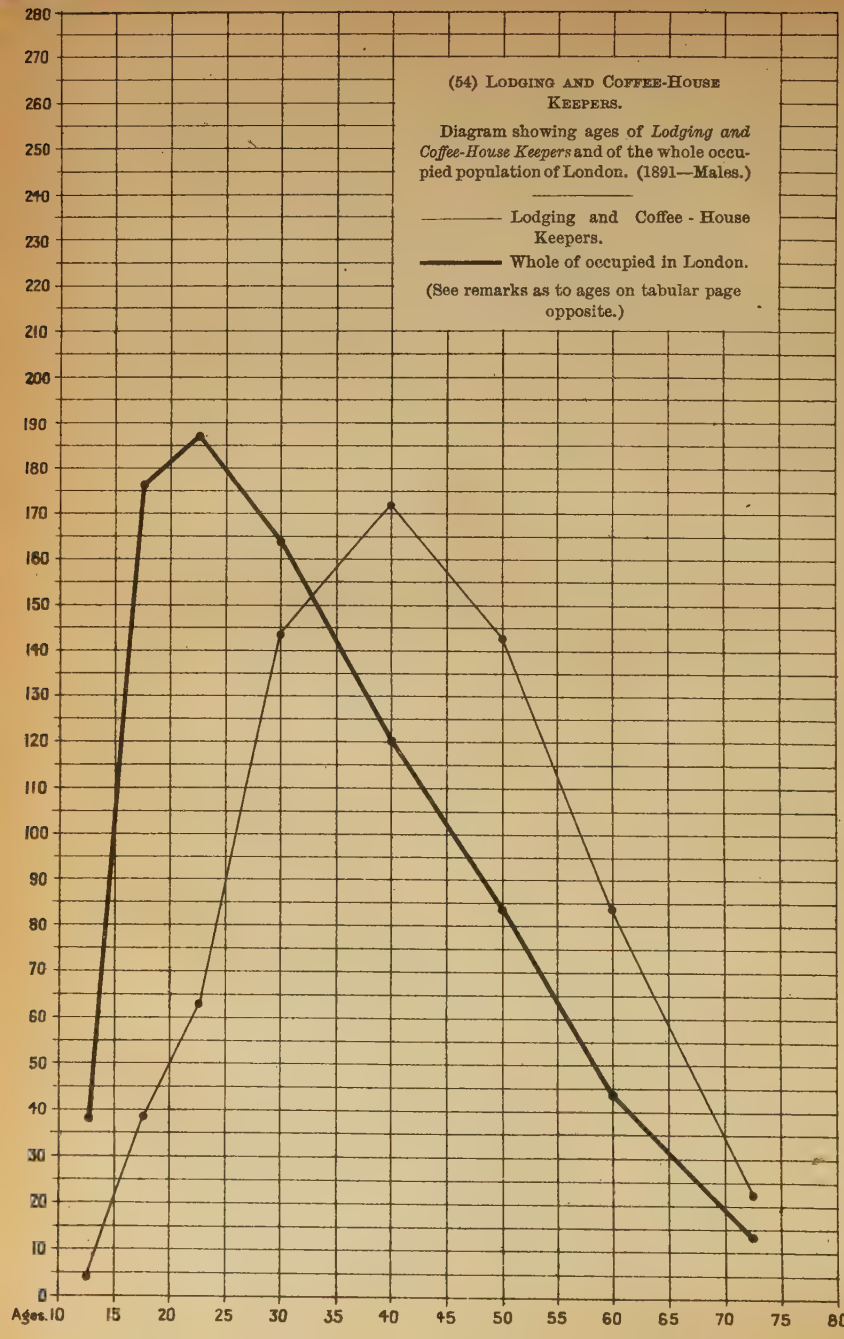
——— Publicans.

——— Whole of occupied in London.

(See remarks as to ages on tabular page opposite.)



Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



LODGING AND COFFEE-HOUSE KEEPERS. (*Section* 54.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

visions,	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Houses	1401	26	3196	1776	6399
and Eating-houses ..	3393	116	943	153	4605
OTAL....	4794	142	4139	1929	11,004

ges in this group are very high—more than with the publicans, but for the sons. (*See* diagram.)

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	3881	Heads of Families, 8107.
	Females	4226	
Birthplace	In London .... 34 %	2723	
	Out of London.. 66 %	5384	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 44 %	3576	
	Employed..... 19 %	1543	
	Neither ..... 37 %	2988	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	8107	16,424	12,720	5610	42,861
Average in family..	1	2·02	1·57	·69	5·28

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
2583	4501	2364	11,004

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

perance hotel keeper, letter of apartments, company house-keeper, lodging-use deputy.
ng room, cook-shop, eel-shop, fried , oyster-room, supper bar, restaurant per; coffee tavern, luncheon bar, p-house keeper. Refreshment rooms rietor; refreshment contractor, rer; buffet manager.

Classification.

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	605	1·4
2 & under 3 ,,	1505	3·5
1 & under 2 ,,	3014	7·0
Less than 1 ,,	23,243	54·3
More than 4 rooms		
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	6037	14·1
All others with 2 or more servants ..	2847	6·6
Servants	5610	13·1
	42,861	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	7%	3½%	5%
Not ,, ..	93%	96½%	95%

Distribution.

For full details see Appendix (Part II.).

East ..	Inner 3639	Outer 1023	4662
North	Inner 4298	Outer 6469	10,767
West ..	Inner 3265	Outer 9367	12,632
Central	Inner 5893		5893
South-East	Inner 708	Outer 2818	3526
South-West	Inner 2208	Outer 3173	5381
			42,861

Inner 20,011, or 47 %
Outer 22,850, or 53 %

Status as to Employment (*according to Census Enumeration*).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
ing and Boarding House keeper	1054	480	26	765	451	3153	470	6399
e and Eating House keeper....	426	1817	116	462	873	208	703	4605
	1480	2297	142	1227	1324	3361	1173	11,004
TOTAL.....	3777		2693			4534		

Publicans and Coffee-house Keepers.

In dealing, as we hope to do later, with the influences which make for improvement or otherwise in the social well-being of the community, the part played by publicans and others must necessarily be carefully considered, and we shall only, at the present stage, touch briefly on the industrial condition of those employed in the public supply of refreshments.

Wine and Spirit Merchants.

With the exception of clerks, the only grade of employee in the wine and spirit trade is that of cellarman.

The wages of a head cellarman range as a rule from 30*s* to 50*s* a week, though in rare cases an old servant in a high-class business may get a much larger salary, rising as high as £4 a week. In very few cases, however, would the maximum wage exceed 40*s*. Head cellarmen not uncommonly earn something additional in "tips" from the makers of bottles and corks.

The wages of under-men vary from 20*s* to 30*s* a week. Taking the trade right through, the average earnings of the men in constant employment would probably fall little if at all short of 30*s* a week.

Except in bonded warehouses, the hours are nearly always from 8 or 9 A.M. to 6 P.M., with an hour for dinner, and when 8 is the time of opening an interval of about a quarter of an hour is usually allowed in the course of the morning. In bonded warehouses and bottling departments, and in bonded cellars, the work begins at 8 A.M. and closes at 4 P.M.—the hours of H.M. Customs—with an interval of half an hour for dinner.

Though there may be occasions when a certain amount

of overtime is necessary, the trade is generally regular throughout the year, and additional hands are seldom required.

The business is one in which men are able to and do work well on into old age. Experience is valuable, and a young man will not be given preference over an old one whose eyesight is still sufficiently good to enable him to do the necessary work.

Few men become proficient cellarmen unless they take to the business as boys, but there is not and does not seem ever to have been any system of apprenticeship. The boy begins with sealing and corking, and gradually works his way up to bottling or other more responsible tasks.

As might be expected, the great temptation of the cellarman is drink. The men apparently do not often reach a condition of complete intoxication, but they manage to consume a very large quantity of liquor, much to the detriment of their own health and their master's profits. One firm of wine merchants assured us that until recently they estimated their annual loss on this account at £1500. The men seem to think that they are entitled to drink as much as they like on the premises, though to pocket a bottle would be theft.

His opportunities of getting good liquor for nothing make the cellarman something of a connoisseur, and he is therefore free from any temptation to spend his wages on the liquids which, in the average public-house, figure under the name of wines and spirits. When he drinks anything in his leisure hours his favourite tipple is said to be a glass of light beer.

Distillers.

The spirit distilleries in London are few, and the number of men directly employed in the industry is quite insignificant; they are known as maltmen, kilnmen, stonemen, spoutmen, tunmen, draftmen, fermenting men, and stillmen.

Hours vary from fifty-one to sixty per week, and most of the men earn wages ranging from 20*s* to 25*s* a week. The numbers employed vary little, and the difference between busy and slack times is entirely a matter of wages. Returns made to the Board of Trade by seven firms show an average of 27*s* 11*d* in the longest and 23*s* 6*d* in the shortest week. As with brewers, the majority of men employed belong to other trades; they include carpenters, coopers, fitters, turners, &c., who, as a rule, earn higher wages than distillers.

Publicans.

The public-house employee is not included in the figures of this section, but is returned under domestic service. It will, however, be more convenient to make a short statement here as to his hours and wages, rather than to class him with other servants, whose work is of a widely different character.

Barmen.—Among publicans the cellarman seems to have no existence apart from the barman; in a house where several men are employed some of them perhaps take no part in the cellar work, but in a small house always, and as a general rule throughout the trade, there is no separation of the respective duties.

With very few exceptions barmen are unmarried and live in the house; the wages of a head man vary from 18*s* to 20*s* a week, with board and lodging; a second barman will get from 15*s* to 17*s*; a third and fourth from 10*s* to 15*s* a week. Where only one is employed, his wage will probably not exceed 16*s* a week. From these sums the only necessary deduction for business purposes is for the purchase and washing of white shirts and aprons, which will amount to about 1*s* 6*d* a week. No doubt in cases where the master is careless and unbusinesslike, men have opportunities of illegitimate gain of which they not un-

frequently avail themselves; but the introduction of check tills and the system of monthly stock takings, which now prevails in all well-managed houses, have greatly reduced the opportunities for pilfering.

As with other servants, the hours which a barman works depend very largely upon the character of his employer; in a house which opens at 5 o'clock the hours of labour which an inhuman master exacts from his men are at times appalling, amounting in some cases to little short of sixteen on week-days and ten on Sundays; such instances are, however, rare, and the average hours of a barman are twelve to thirteen on week-days, and nine or ten on Sundays, making a week of eighty-one to eighty-eight hours. The majority of houses open at 7.30 or 8 and close at 12.30, from an hour to an hour and a half is allowed for meals, and in few cases do men have less than two hours' rest in the course of the day. In houses which open at 5 A.M. those who have to be on duty at that time are usually able to go to bed at about 10.30 P.M. It is an invariable custom to give a holiday after 10 or 11 A.M. on one day every four weeks, and till 7 P.M. on every third Sunday, while in some cases men are allowed off from 6 to 10 o'clock on one night in each week.

In the matter of food the barman is probably better off than the average shop assistant who lives on the premises. He has generally an ample supply of good plain fare, and is seldom, if ever, under the necessity of trenching on his wages to supply any deficiency of nourishment.

The only periods in the year when publicans require extra hands are at Christmas and sometimes for a month or two during the early summer. As the work does not demand any large amount of skill or experience, and there are always a large number of superannuated barmen out of work, there is no difficulty in supplying any additional help which may be required.

The chief grievance of the barman is the very youthful

age at which his chance of getting work diminishes; after twenty-four or twenty-five masters begin to look askance at him, and at thirty unless he has become a head man or risen to the position of a manager, his prospects of finding further employment in the trade are very small. This is due partly perhaps to the fact that masters prefer men who can give and take chaff with the customers, and fear that elderly men may be too staid in their demeanour; but undoubtedly the main cause of barmen being so young, is the dread that masters have that men who have passed their youth will not be content with their wages, but will probably supplement them by intercepting some of the takings before they reach the till, or by other illegitimate methods. There is a strong objection, too, to married men, and as barmen are probably no less susceptible than other members of the community, many no doubt seek for other employment in order that they may enter upon matrimony. Unfortunately, no class of men find it harder to effect a change of calling; employers generally are said to regard unfavourably those who have been engaged in public-house work, and the superannuated barman is consequently under peculiar temptation to join the great army of loafers. It should be remembered, however, that there are in the trade a number of well-paid posts as managers, and that the more capable and respectable barmen have the best opportunity of securing these.

Potmen.—Inferior to the barman is the potman, a title which is now almost a misnomer. Until comparatively recent years the publican's customers were very particular as to their ale being served in a "nice bright pewter pot," and the essential virtue in a potman was that he should be a good pewter cleaner; the pot is, however, being now largely supplanted by the glass, and the so-called potman is really a servant who does the general work of a public-house. He usually lives out, and has wages of from 24*s* to 27*s*; should he live in he will get from 10*s* to 14*s* with

board. In most houses where there is a billiard table he acts in the evening as marker, and thus adds 2*s* or 3*s* a week to his earnings, though probably the existence of a billiard table in the house is a factor in the determination of his fixed wage. His hours are less clearly defined and are generally shorter than those of the barman; after he has done his morning's work he is often allowed to go for the whole afternoon, returning about 7 o'clock.

Both barmen and potmen no doubt have great temptation for drinking, but it is probable that they are less liable to actual drunkenness than many other workers. During business hours they are constantly under the master's eye, and pronounced intoxication would most probably result in instant dismissal.

Beer Bottlers.

Included in this section are beer bottlers, whose trade is not large. We have been able to obtain some particulars as to wages, but not on other points. Nearly all the men engaged in this business earn from 20*s* to 30*s* a week, the two most common rates being 24*s* and 25*s*. When overtime is worked, and especially during May and June, these sums would be slightly increased.

Lodging and Coffee-house Keepers.

This section in the census is intended to include very few besides the actual proprietors or managers of restaurants, coffee or lodging-houses, &c., and thus consisting almost entirely of the employer class, is outside the scope of our industrial inquiry. The persons they employ—waiters, waitresses, cooks, kitchenmaids, housemaids, &c.—are classified under the head of "domestic service."

The small proportion returned as "employed" in the table of persons represented in this section, are probably of the same domestic order, and therefore do not require description here.

Trade Organization.

Among the employees in these trades there is no organization. Publicans have several associations, including the Incorporated Society of Licensed Victuallers, the City of London Licensed Victuallers and Restaurant Keepers' Trade Protection Society, the East London Licensed Victuallers' and Beer Sellers' Protection Association, and a similar society for North London.

Social Condition.

As an index to the social condition of those who comprise these sections, our test of number of rooms occupied is of little value, owing to the fact that the business premises and dwelling place of nearly all those included are under one roof. The small number returned as crowded in each section—9 per cent. under publicans and 4 per cent. under lodging-house keepers—is due in the one case no doubt partly to a certain proportion of cellarmen, but more largely in both cases to servants who have been wrongly included here.

PART III.—DEALERS AND CLERKS.

DEALERS AND CLERKS.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

This part is occupied principally with small shop-keepers and street sellers on the one hand; and with merchants, brokers, and bankers, and those they employ, on the other. Their numbers, age, and sex are given in the tables that follow.

Persons represented: (A) Census Enumeration.

Enumerated by Age and Sex.

Dealers.	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65—	Total.
Males.....	889	4423	4367	19,200	2805	1491	33,175
Females.....	247	1571	1330	494 8	1023	535	9654
Total.....	1136	5994	5697	24,148	3828	2026	42,829
Commercial.							
Males.....	2376	22,606	22,265	62,805	6408	2625	119,085
Females.....	107	2227	3039	3767	145	45	9330
Total.....	2483	24,833	25,304	66,572	6553	2670	128,415
Grand Totals	3619	30,827	31,001	90,720	10,381	4696	171,244

More than half of those returned as general shop-keepers are females, as are also nearly one-third of the street sellers. The other sections consist mostly of males. Amongst the 43,000 employed in "dealing," there are 22,000 heads of families, and amongst the 119,000 "commercial," there are 54,000 heads. The total population concerned is as follows :—

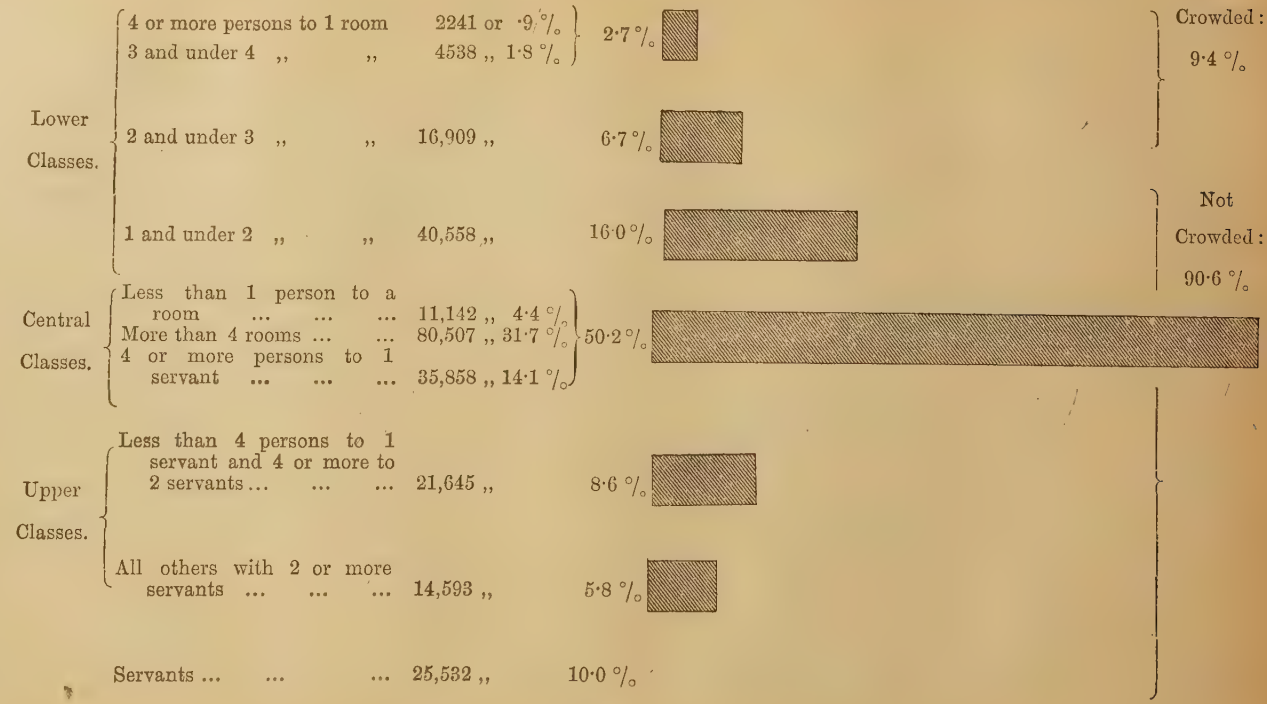
Persons Represented : (B) Enumeration by Families.

No.	Sections.	Heads.	Total numbers (excluding Servants).	Per family (excluding Servants).	Servants.
55	Ironmongers, china dealers and pawnbrokers	4724	21,221	4·50	1726
56	Coal, wood and corn dealers	4360	20,384	4·67	1604
57	General shop-keepers and dealers.....	7137	31,244	4·37	503
58	Costers and street sellers ...	5825	23,695	4·07	65
	Total dealers.....	22,046	96,544	4·38	3898
59	Merchants, bankers, brokers	13,278	58,212	4·39	13,722
60	Commercial clerks	40,737	169,779	4·16	11,810
	Total commercial...	54,015	227,991	4·22	25,532
	Grand total	76,061	324,535	4·27	29,430
	Servants		29,430		
	Total population		353,965		

The social condition of this portion of the population is as under :—

Lower Classes.	4 or more persons to 1 room ...	7981 or 7·9 °/₀	17 °/₀	Crowded: 35·7 °/₀
	3 and under 4 ,, ,, ..	9069 ,, 9·1 °/₀		
	2 and under 3 ,, ,, ...	18,803 ,,	18·8 °/₀	
	1 and under 2 ,, ,, ...	18,982 ,,	18·9 °/₀	Not Crowded 64·3 °/₀
Central Classes.	Less than 1 person to a room ...	3328 ,, 3·3 °/₀	35·6 °/₀	
	More than 4 rooms	25,299 ,, 25·3 °/₀		
	4 or more persons to 1 servant...	7100 ,, 7·0 °/₀		
Upper Classes.	Less than 4 persons to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants ...	4094 ,,	4·1 °/₀	
	All others with 2 or more servants	1888 ,,	1·8 °/₀	
	Servants...	3898 ,,	3·8 °/₀	
		100,442 ,,	100 °/₀	

SOCIAL CONDITION OF FAMILIES OF MERCHANTS AND CLERKS.


Lower Classes.
4 or more persons to 1 room 2241 or ·9 %
3 and under 4 ,, ,, 4538 ,, 1·8 %
2·7 %
2 and under 3 ,, ,, 16,909 ,, 6·7 %
1 and under 2 ,, ,, 40,558 ,, 16·0 %
Crowded: 9·4 %
Not Crowded: 90·6 %
Central Classes.
Less than 1 person to a room ... ... 11,142 ,, 4·4 %
More than 4 rooms ... ... 80,507 ,, 31·7 %
4 or more persons to 1 servant ... ... 35,858 ,, 14·1 %
50·2 %
Upper Classes.
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servants ... ... 21,645 ,, 8·6 %
All others with 2 or more servants ... ... 14,593 ,, 5·8 %
Servants ... ... 25,532 ,, 10·0 %
253,523 ,, 100 %

Social condition (by Sections).

Section.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to 1 servant.	Less than 4 persons to a servant.	Servants.	Total.
Ironmonger, China, &c.....	1228	2275	3520	11,505	2693	1726	22,947
Per cent.....	5½	10	15½	50	11½	7½	100
Coal, &c., Dealers	1372	2705	3618	10,100	2589	1604	21,988
Per cent.....	6	12½	16½	46	11½	7½	100
General Shopkeepers	5930	6851	7200	10,663	600	503	31,747
Per cent.....	19	21½	22½	33½	2	1½	100
Costers & Street Sellers	8520	6972	4644	3459	100	65	23,760
Per cent.....	36	29	19½	14½	½	½	100
Merchants, &c....	1221	3140	6110	27,705	20,036	13,722	71,934
Per cent.....	2	4½	8½	38½	27½	19	100
Clerks	5558	13,769	34,448	99,802	16,202	11,810	181,589
Per cent.....	3	7½	19	55	9	6½	100

Arranged finally in order of apparent poverty, we have :—

Trade.	Employers and Employed.	Employed only.
	Crowded.	Crowded.
Costermongers and Street Sellers ...	65·2 per cent.	69·5 per cent.
General Shopkeepers	40·3 ,, ,,	46·7 ,, ,,
Coal, Wood, and Hay Dealers	18·5 ,, ,,	28·7 ,, ,,
Ironmongers, China Dealers, &c.....	15·3 ,, ,,	22·2 ,, ,,
Clerks	10·6 ,, ,,	10·8 ,, ,,
Merchants, Brokers, &c.	6·1 ,, ,,	8·7 ,, ,,

The changes in the numbers employed since 1861 are as follows :—

CENSUS ENUMERATION, 1861-1891, FOR EACH SECTION.

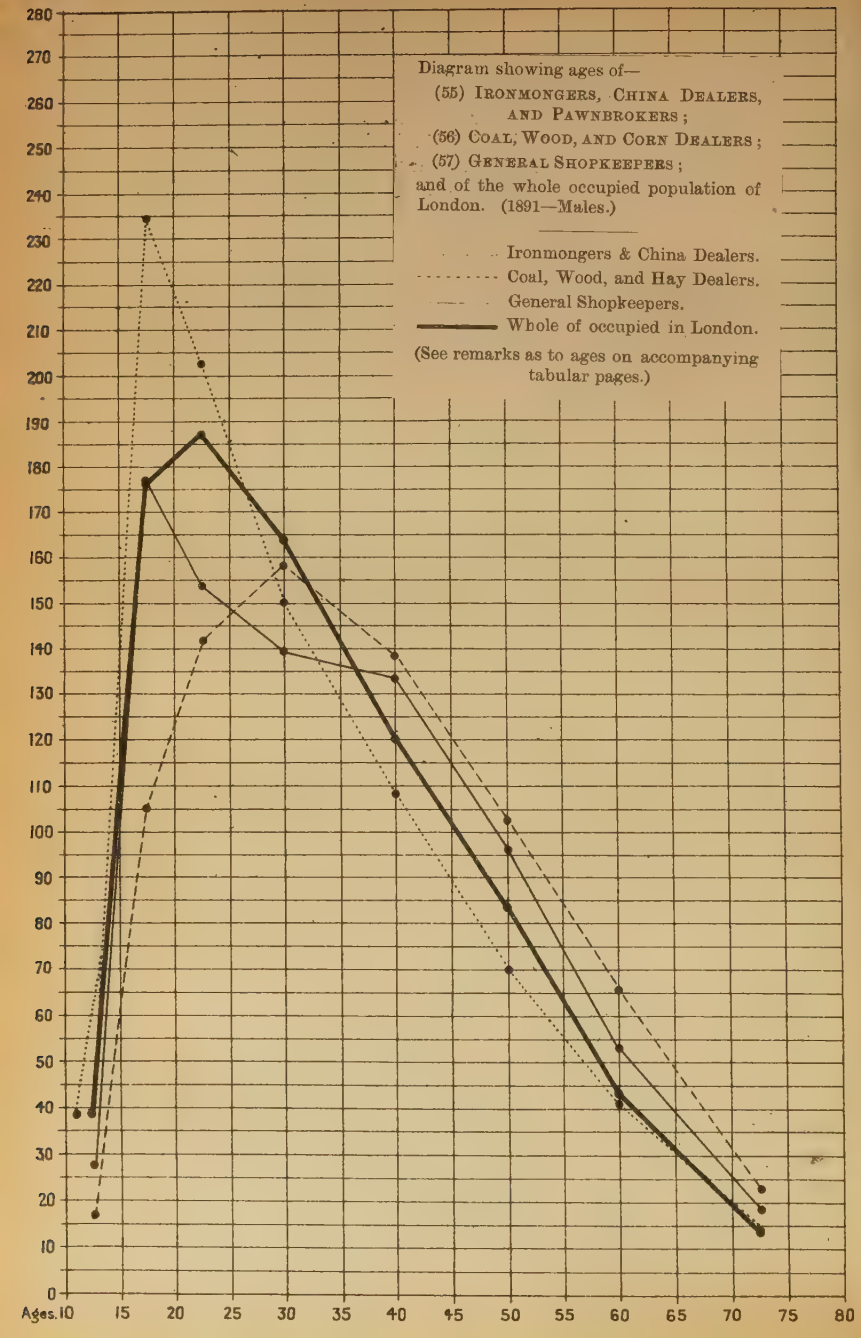
	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Ironmongers, China Dealers	4800	5800	7800	9200
Coal, Wood, Hay Dealers ...	7300	9100	8400	6600
General Shopkeepers	14,700	10,200	14,600	14,200
Costers and Street Sellers ...		10,800	9,300	12,900
Merchants, Bankers & Brokers	12,600	18,500	20,300	20,000
Clerks	35,500	72,900	84,400	108,400
Total	74,900	127,300	144,800	171,300

In the census of 1861 general dealers are combined with costers and street sellers, and in the returns for the other decades there is evidently some overlapping between the different sections of dealers. Taking the class as a whole, however, the increase is steady and consistent from 26,800 in 1861 to 42,900 in 1891, an addition of 60 per cent. in the thirty years.

The number of commercial clerks shows great increases each decade, but especially from 1861 to 1871, when it more than doubled. In the same decade merchants, &c., increased considerably, but during the last twenty years the numbers have altered very little, there being a slight decrease since 1881.

Among dealers there are about 5300 employers to 20,000 employed, and no less than 17,500 who are neither employers nor employed. Among the commercial class we lack particulars of those who are neither employer nor employed. The proportion of clerks to those who may be employers is five to one.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.).



CHAPTER I.

SHOPKEEPERS AND GENERAL DEALERS.

IRONMONGER, GLASS AND CHINA DEALER. (*Section* 55.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

ivisions, 91.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
ongers..	118	511	2484	297	3410
& China	431	130	1038	211	1810
broker..	66	1075	1365	109	2615
s of Art, ...	221	96	811	201	1329
TOTAL.. ..	836	1812	5698	818	9164

iceable feature, as shown on the t, is the large proportion of young ployed, who are mainly pawnbrokers' is.

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
2534	2233	3149	9164

Details of Occupations OM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

dware dealer, grindery dealer, scrap- n, old iron dealer.
thenware, porcelain, terra cotta ler, bottle merchant, pottery sales- n, dealer, medical glass dealer. edeemed pledge salesman.
ier in antiquities, curiosities, coins, mps, and bric-a-brac; Japanese wares rker, importer, dealer, and manufac- rer; picture dealer, cleaner, liner, unter, restorer; figure caster, plaster ilder, wax modeller; bird and beast ffer, dried flower preparer, marine rist; shell merchant, polisher, worker, eli box maker, skeleton articulator.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		4522	Heads of Families, 4724.
	Females		202	
Birthplace	In London ..	55 %	2621	
	Out of London	45 %	2103	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	32 %	1495	
	Employed	53 %	2509	
	Neither	15 %	720	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	4724	5190	11,307	1726	22,947
Average in family..	1	1·10	2·40	·36	4·86

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Pt. III.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1228	5·4
2 & under 3 ,,	2275	9·9
1 & under 2 ,,	3520	15·3
Less than 1 ,,	11,505	50·2
More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	2000	8·7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	693	3·0
Servants	1726	7·5
	22,947	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	24 %	10 %	15 %
Not ,, ..	76 %	90 %	85 %

Distribution.

East ..	Inner	2495	3021
	Outer	526	
North	Inner	1400	6430
	Outer	5030	
West..	Inner	520	3870
	Outer	3350	
Central	Inner	1486	1486
South-East	Inner	460	3621
	Outer	3161	
South-West	Inner	1416	4519
	Outer	3103	
			22,947

Inner 7777, or 34 %
Outer 15,170, or 66 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all Ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
mmonger	670	21	511	1935	78	176	19	3410
ss and China Dealer.....	337	56	130	640	293	272	82	1810
rnbroker	310	21	1075	1130	38	34	7	2615
ler in Works of Art	248	12	96	413	182	351	27	1329
	1565	110	1812	4118	591	833	135	9164
TOTAL.....	1675		6521			968		

COAL, WOOD, AND CORN DEALERS. (*Section* 56.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
(1) Coal and Coke	110	98	983	308	1499
(2) Timber, &c...	67	135	1243	256	1701
(3) Corn & Flour	300	360	2305	399	3364
TOTAL....	477	593	4531	963	6564

Owing to the fact that the numbers here given consist largely of employers and small dealers, there is an excessive proportion of men over 40 years of age. (*See* diagram.)

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
1124	1464	1267	2709	6564

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

(1) Coal agent, contractor, shipper, wharfinger.
(2) Chip dealer; hazel rod dealer; sawdust collector; shavings dealer; barrel and cask dealer; hoop and stave merchant; tan dealer; timber measurer.
(3) Fodder dealer; rush, cane, willow dealer; hay compresser; straw mat maker; straw joiner; chaff cutter; farina maker; pea splitter; rice cleaner; bran dealer; maccaroni maker, importer; groat manufacturer; hop sampler, dealer.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	4220	Heads of Families 4360
	Females	140	
Birthplace	In London.... 52 %	2285	
	Out of London 48 %	2075	
Industrial Status..	Employer .... 37 %	1618	
	Employed .... 41 %	1783	
	Neither ..... 22 %	959	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	T
Total	4360	4421	11,603	1604	2
Average in family ..	1	1·01	2·66	·37	

Classification.

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1372	6·2
2 & under 3 ,,	2705	12·3
1 & under 2 ,,	3618	16·4
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	10,100	46·0
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	1605	7·3
All others with 2 or more servants ..	984	4·5
Servants	1604	7·3
	21,988	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	31 %	12 %	18½ %
Not ,, ..	69 %	88 %	81½ %

Distribution.

East..	Inner	2877
	Outer	698
North	Inner	714
	Outer	4371
West	Inner	394
	Outer	2605
Central Inner		836
South-East	Inner	1008
	Outer	4086
South-West	Inner	1454
	Outer	2943

Inner 7283, or 33 %
Outer 14,705, or 67 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Tot
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
(1) Coal and Coke*.....	481	28	98	362	43	448	39	14
(2) Timber, &c.	502	12	135	574	42	423	13	17
(3) Corn, Flour, &c.	903	43	360	1501	227	300	30	33
	1886	83	593	2437	312	1171	82	65
TOTAL.....	1969		3342			1253		

* The small number of employed persons here given is owing to the fact that the coal porters and carme returned and described elsewhere. (*See* Part V., Chapter II.)

GENERAL SHOPKEEPERS. (*Section* 57.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

...visions, ...i.	Females All Ages.	Males. —19	20—54	55—	Total.
...l Shop- and	4974	1376	5920	1100	13,370
...therer, ...	354	63	393	61	871
...AL....	5328	1439	6313	1161	14,241

...e line here is peculiar—a normal ...n of lads, a marked deficiency of ...en, and an excess of males over 40. ... small shopkeepers, boys and youths ...monly employed, and they, as they ..., largely find their way into other ...s of dealing. (*See* diagram.)

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
2318	5049	5116	14,241

...Details of Occupations ...om the Census Dictionary).

...keeper's assistant, shopwalker, shop- ...n. Co-operative stores service. Whole- ... dealer, miscellaneous dealer, money ...er (undefined). Small ware dealer. ...fitter. Chandler. Marine store ...ler, sorter. ...an, rag cutter, sifter, sorter.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		5784
	Females		1353
Birthplace	In London	68 %	4859
	Out of London	32 %	2278
Industrial Status	Employer	13 %	913
	Employed	26 %	1872
	Neither	61 %	4352

Heads of Families, 7137.

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total.	7137	7586	16,521	503	31,747
Average in family ..	1	1·06	2·31	·07	4·44

Classification.

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	5930	18·7
2 & under 3 ,,	6851	21·6
1 & under 2 ,,	7209	22·7
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	10,663	33·6
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	410	1·3
All others with 2 or more servants ..	190	0·5
Servants.....	593	1·6
	31,747	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	48 %	29 %	40 %
Not ,, ..	52 %	71 %	60 %

Distribution.

East ..	Inner	8727	9960
	Outer	1233	
North	Inner	1076	4509
	Outer	3433	
West..	Inner	735	3099
	Outer	2364	
Central	Inner	3086	3086
South-East	Inner	941	4277
	Outer	3336	
South-West	Inner	4050	6816
	Outer	2766	
			31,747

Inner 18,615, or 58 %
Outer 13,132, or 42 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females.	
...al Shopkeeper and Dealer	689	254	1376	1794	2909	4537	1811	13,370
Gatherer and Dealer	96	9	63	240	330	118	15	871
	785	263	1439	2034	3239	4655	1826	14,241
TOTAL.....	1048		6712			6481		

Ironmongers, Glass and China Dealers, Coal, Wood, and Corn Dealers, and General Shopkeepers.

The amount of poverty indicated by the room test in these sections is naturally proportioned to the size of the shops. Ironmongers' and pawnbrokers' shops are seldom very small, and amongst glass and china dealers there are a proportion that are of some pretension. It is the same with hay, straw, and corn dealers; but as to coals, the far greater proportion are of the smallest kind; and with what are called general shops—selling cakes and sweets, dripping and bacon, toys and small wares, ginger pop or lemonade, and perhaps milk—very few indeed are other than of the smallest kind.

As to the wages received by the employees of the largest of these shops I have not obtained any particulars. They will, doubtless, be found to be in proportion to those paid for regular employment in any other trade—varying that is from 20*s* to 50*s* a week, according to the responsibility of the position, and proportionately less if board and lodging are included, supplemented in the higher branches by a commission on sales.

Nor have I any information as to those smaller shops in which the proprietor and his family do most of the work. They enjoy, or suffer, a very varying fortune. Many a small inheritance, and many a sum of savings slowly accumulated in some other occupation, is dispersed and lost by the rash entering into a "little business" of those who are entirely ignorant of the social services demanded from a retail trader, or devoid of the qualities needed to fulfil them. Thus the sale of bankrupt stock has become almost a business in itself. On the other hand, a well-situated and carefully managed shop often affords a comfortable livelihood to one family for generations, or to successive owners, each of whom will pay on entering a substantial sum for the "goodwill" connected with the

premises. Whether the capital employed is fruitful or dwindling away makes little difference as to the physical comfort in which the shopkeeper lives. It may often be that those who are losing live better than others who are making money. Thus, in a view of London such as is here attempted, all these persons are to be counted as comfortably off.

With regard to the quite little "general" shops, of which many are kept by women, who in this way try to either support themselves or to increase the family income, one may be sure that there is present a great deal of real and even acute poverty. Of the business carried on in one such shop I have seen something, and it may perhaps be accepted as representative of many.

This shop, which exists no longer, was situated in a rather poor street, out of which open some still poorer courts, while nearly opposite is a common lodging-house for single men.* The frontage of the street itself is partly occupied by a tobacco factory and some printing works. The houses on both sides are respectably occupied, and being old-fashioned — built when the neighbourhood experienced better days—afford apartments or lodgings for working men. Two or three of the cellars of these houses are used as shops, and the one of which I speak had been so used for many years by a couple who, living in a small house up the adjacent court, obtained a living out of the sale of provisions. The man, who had formerly figured on the stage as a clown, drank heavily; and after his wife's death the business went to pieces. He is now in the workhouse. The fixtures and such goodwill as clung to the premises were sold by the occupant of the house (who sublet the shop) to friends of mine for 40*s*. A wooden screen

* It is noticeable how indigenous is the general shop to the more central poor districts of London. Although the "inner ring" has only a little over a third of the total population of the metropolis, it contains 58 per cent. of the general shopkeepers. (*See* Table of persons represented.)

betwixt door and fire, two tables, a counter, small and large scales and weights, a good corner cupboard, and some odds and ends, were thus acquired. The shop, which was fully half its height below the level of the street, measured about 14 ft. by 11 ft. by 7 ft., and the rent, which had been 3*s*, was raised to 3*s* 6*d*.

The previous occupants had been continually hard up, frequently borrowing the money needed to buy the stock; but so far as was known they had no other source of income. At first my friends did fairly well, though never well enough to have made a living out of the profits; but after twelve months an opposition shop was started in a neighbouring cellar, and cut so much into the money earned, that finally it was not worth while to continue the business. Moreover, in comparing the profits made during the year which came under observation with those which presumably had been made previously, it seems probable that there had been a gradual diminution in the amount of trade done, due partly, perhaps, to more enterprise and lower prices at the large shops in the main streets, but mainly to the establishment of workmen's cocoa-rooms close by, at which, or from which, better and cheaper supplies could be obtained by the factory girls at mid-day, or by men in the common lodging-house at supper-time. It is said also that the late occupier took the risk of selling on credit.

My friends, a married pair without children, whose house was higher up the street, were accustomed to get a rather meagre living by letting their spare rooms to single men, who paid for board as well as lodgings, and they took the shop in order to add to their resources. One or other of them had to be at the shop from 6 in the morning to 11 at night, and so long as they carried on the business a girl was needed to help in the work of the house. It was necessary to keep open early and late, and on Sundays as well as week-days, because it was before and after

ordinary working hours, when the larger shops are closed, that custom was most active. Except sometimes on Saturdays, trade was seldom very brisk, and in the middle of the day the person in charge might sit and sell nothing, nor even exchange a word with anyone, for hours together. This dull time fell mostly to the lot of the husband—a man advanced in years and past regular work—for his wife, a much younger woman, was employed the later morning and mid-day hours over her household or in buying the stock, and, when she was more needed at the shop, sent him to keep house at home. Saturday evening was of course the busiest time, and in preparation for Saturday and Sunday the stock was brought up to its maximum every Friday.

Of Friday stock I twice took an account, and full particulars of it are appended as taken on June 1st. On the second occasion, four weeks later, the total value was a few shillings less. The articles dealt in show the nature of the business. (*See* next page.)

The very small sum needed to stock a shop of this kind is no less remarkable than the high average rate of profits. The two are closely interconnected, for if the rate were not high the sum earned on each transaction would be infinitesimal. There are about forty different descriptions of stock enumerated, and of the sales a large proportion were in penn'orths and ha'porths. Nevertheless, the sum taken amounted to fully £3 in a good week, and for months averaged about £2. 15*s*. It will be seen that the weekly turn-over was thus half as much again as the total stock at any one time, and we have a veritable instance of the supposed rare combination of large profits with quick returns. It must be said, however, that the average profit is not quite so high as a cursory glance at the figures might suggest, for it depends on the proportion in which the articles were sold. Bread and sugar only carry 14 per cent., and those things which pay 25 and 33 per cent.

Stock in Shop on Friday Evening.

Articles.	Quantities.	Total value.	Cost price.	Sale price.	Percentage of Profit on cost.
Ginger beer	6 doz.	4 0	8*d* per doz.	1*d* each	50
Vinegar	1 gallon	0 9	9*d* per gallon	by ha'porths (say)	100
Salt	—	0 2	2*d* per loaf	by ha'porths & farthings	100
Mustard	1 doz.	0 8	8*d* per doz.	1*d* each	50
Tea	Loose	0 8	1/4 per lb.	6*d* per ¼ lb.	25
Tea	in oz. & ½ oz. pkts.	1 6	1/- ,,	1*d* per oz.	33
Rice & pearl barley	—	0 4	1½*d* ,,	5 oz. for 1*d*	100
Sugar	12 lbs. in pkts	1 9	1/9 per doz. lbs.	2*d* per lb.	14
Currants	—	0 2	1½*d* per lb.	5 oz. for 1*d*	100
Coffee	—	0 6	1/- ,,	4*d* per ¼ lb.	33
Soap	—	1 1½	4½*d* per bar	cut into 12 pieces at ½*d*	33
Blue	2 doz. packets	0 4	2*d* per doz.	¼*d* each	50
Blacking	1 doz. packets	0 2½	2½*d* ,,	½*d* ,,	140
Matches	3 doz. boxes	0 6	2*d* ,,	¼*d* ,,	50
Candles	1½ packets	1 6	11*d* per pkt. of 60	4 a penny	36
Washing powder	1 doz. packets	0 4½	4½*d* per doz.	½*d* each	33
Black lead	,, ,,	0 2	2*d* ,,	¼*d* ,,	50
Epsom salts	,, ,,	0 2	2*d* ,,	¼*d* ,,	50
Senna	,,	0 2	2*d* ,,	¼*d* ,,	50
Fire-wood	3 doz. bundles	0 6	2*d* ,,	4 a penny	50
Baking powder	1 doz. packets	0 2	2*d* ,,	¼*d* each	50
Flour	6 packets	0 7½	1/3 per doz. pkts. (fell later to 1/-)	1½*d* & 2*d* per packet(1½*d*)	50
Bread	6 loaves	0 7½	1/9 per doz.	2*d* each	14
Margarine	3 lbs. (best)	1 10	7½*d* per lb.	10*d* per lb.	33
,,	2½ ,,	1 3	5½*d* ,,	8*d* ,,	42
Cheese	3 ,,	1 3	5*d* ,,	8*d* ,,	60
Eggs	—	1 0	6/6 per 120 in summer	1*d* each and 2 for 1½*d*	25 (about)
Dripping	—	1 8	4*d* per lb.	6*d* per lb.	50
Bacon	6¼ lbs.	2 8	4½*d* ,,	8*d* ,,	77
Onions	—	1 0	10*d* or 1/- per 20 lbs.	1*d* ,,	80
Pickled onions	1½ jars	1 8	Home made	by ha'porths (say)	100
Jam	—	0 9	4*d* for 2 lbs.	6*d* per lb.	200
Milk	1 gallon	0 9	9*d* or 10*d* per gal.	2*d* per pint	60
Cotton, tapes, &c.	—	1 0	Various	—	—
Hair oil	—	0 7	7*d* per bottle	by ha'porths	—
Cigarettes	—	—	6 doz. for 1/-	¼*d* each	50
Sweets	—	3 0	3*d* and 4*d* per lb.	½*d* for 1½ oz.	50
Cakes	—	1 0	Various kinds	—	30-50
Tarts	—	0 3	4½*d* per doz.	½*d* each	33
		116 7½			

possibly out-weigh in amount sold those which yield the higher rates of 50, 100, and even 200 per cent.

Stock was purchased from day to day as requisite, with a general replenishing on Friday. The quantities bought were thus never very large—nor could large quantities have been accommodated at all on the shelves of the shop, which contained altogether far less than the store-room of an ordinary middle-class family. But as they were regular continuous weekly purchases, and as cash was paid, the prices were not much above those of the wholesale market.

The ginger beer and milk were delivered at the door by carts, which made a regular round among their customers. The bread and flour came from the baker close by. Onions were bought at a public market, and dripping from the cook at a large drapery shop where the employees took their meals on the premises. All the other articles were purchased at shops which combine wholesale with retail business. From one came the chandlery stores—from another tea, and from a third other groceries; butter and eggs from a fourth, and so on. Altogether there were about twelve sources of supply, most of them to be found in the adjacent main streets, and not distant more than half a mile.

The buyers were the immediate neighbours. Two or three of them kept an account, paying on Saturday. Otherwise no credit was given, and no bad debts were made. A great deal of the money was spent by children, both on their own account on sweets and tarts, for which ha'pence are plentiful even among the very poor, and also as emissaries of their parents. "Well, Jennie, what is it?" "Please, mother wants"—some soap, or whatever it may be. Almost everyone who comes is known, and greeted by name.* The dulness of the life when there are no customers is heightened by contrast with the pleasantly

* Children get many a sweet given them. It is a kind of commission paid to retain their patronage. Amongst publicans a little stock of sweets is

social nature of the business at those times of day when every few minutes a friend drops in for some small purchase and a little talk. For a man who neither reads nor knits there is, during the dull hours, nothing to be done but to stand at the door for the chance of a word with some passer-by.

The business lasted about fifteen months, but during the last three became much less profitable owing to the opening of the rival shop already mentioned. The family who thus started an opposition had been themselves regular customers, and besides their own requirements they, having somewhat the better position, intercepted a large portion of the trade. They had, moreover, the advantage of living above their shop. It is probable that neither of the two shops did much good while they divided the trade. The takings of my friend fell to 25*s* or 30*s* a week, and the profits were then barely enough to pay the rent and meet the expenses of hiring a girl to help in the house-work. So they lost heart and gave it up. Never to have a day's holiday; never an evening to yourself; to give up the Good Templar meetings; and never, or hardly ever, to get to church, made too severe a life, and it was only the consciousness of some much-desired accumulations in the savings bank that made it bearable at all. At the end of the twelve months there was £25 in the bank, whereas when the shop was taken there had been nothing.

What portion of this sum saved can be counted as coming from the shop and what from the house it is not possible to say exactly. An attempt was made, at my request, to separate the two accounts by keeping two purses, and letting the house pay for all its supplies, but it failed; and what the house used was never considered part of the takings of the shop. Moreover, food eaten on

sometimes kept for this purpose beneath the bar counter, and it is certainly well that the child's lips should be saved in this way from the temptation of taking a surreptitious sip from the jug.

the premises came naturally out of the stock. It seems probable that the shop paid fully 10*s* a week beyond its rent, and that the money from the lodgers paid for the maintenance and rent of the dwelling-house, and for all living expenses; or perhaps it might equally be said that the house earned 10*s* a week profit, if we burthen the shop with all the food consumed by the master and mistress. At any rate, the saving was strictly due to the combination of the two, and was earned by hard work and very abstemious lives.*

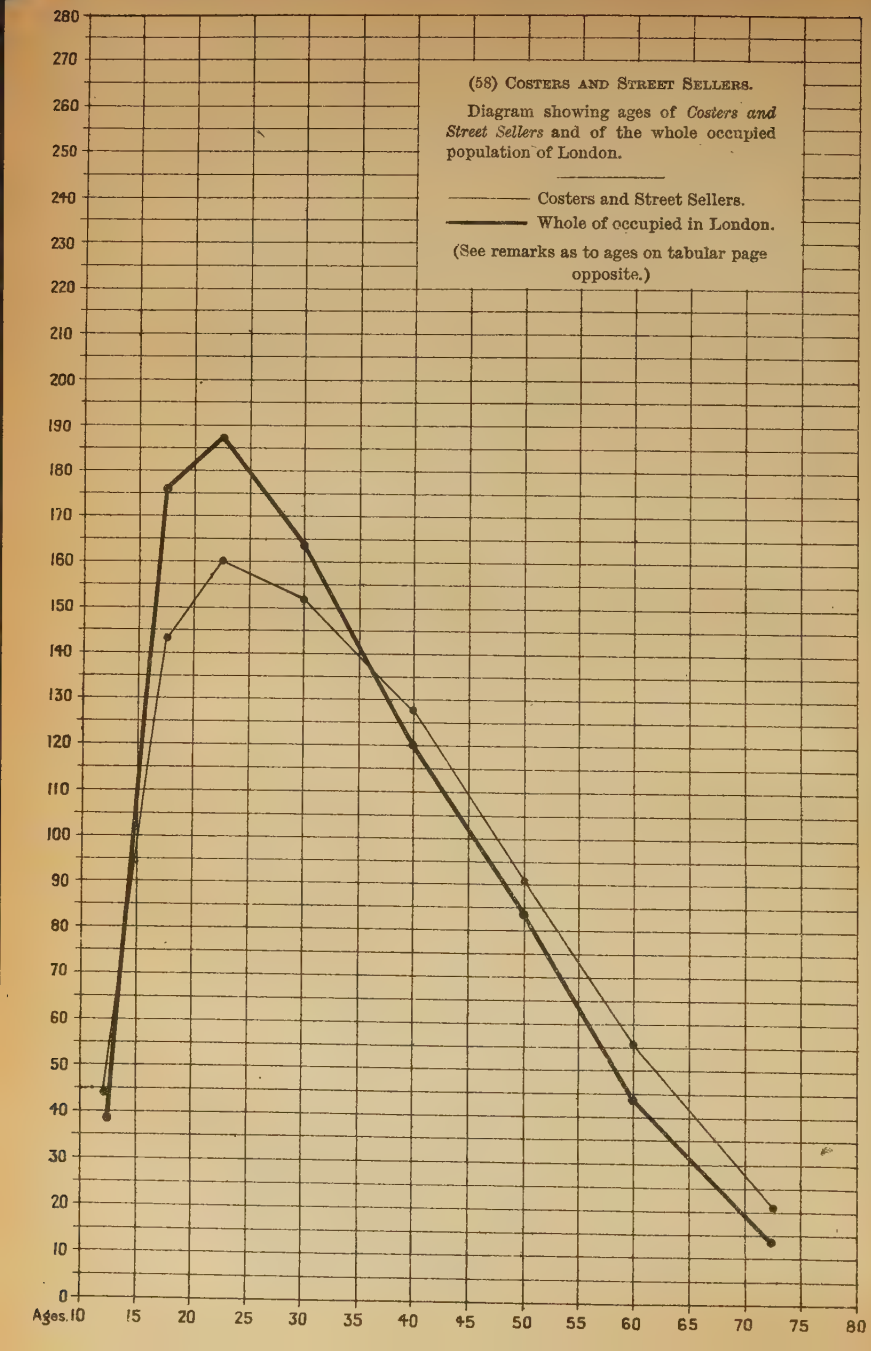
A shop doing such a business as this appears to afford a fair living for one person, but not for two. There must, however, be two persons more or less employed—one of whom is able to attend the shop when the other is out replenishing the stock. It thus lends itself to family effort. A young girl or an old grandmother can see to the shop, and, if shop and home are not divorced, it may be possible to go on with other work above or in a back room, and come to serve customers when summoned. It is manifest that a much larger business than that described might be done in such a shop, and possibly if less profit were sought on each transaction, the custom would increase, but I rather doubt it. Those who prefer to deal at the large shops would probably continue to do so; and those who find the little shop's situation and hours and friendly ways convenient—those whom it does not suit to keep stores of anything; to whom an expedition, fully dressed, into the busy world of a main street is a serious undertaking, and the entrance into a large

* An exact account for four weeks' working—stock being taken at the beginning and end of the period—showed a profit of £3. 18*s* 3½*d* as having been made between house and shop beyond expense of living. This average, if maintained, would yield no less than £50 surplus in a year. The average was not maintained. Money has to be spent from time to time on furniture and on clothes, and at times several rooms in the house were not occupied for weeks together. The margin of possible saving is, however, remarkable and very suggestive.

shop an affair of shyness and alarm—such as these do not strain at a slight difference in quality or in price. Nor would the difference in price be so very great to them, as in no case would they buy in anything but the smallest quantities. The shops which lay themselves out for supplying smaller shops must, and do, as a rule, protect their wholesale customers by maintaining full retail prices, and only reduce them when the quantities bought justify special terms.*

* That they are ready to reduce on occasion is shown by the fact that my friends, although now buying for the house only, have been able to maintain the prices paid for the shop on articles which they are able to buy in fair quantities. For bread they pay 10½*d* for six loaves, and get "two-shilling tea" for 1*s* 4*d* a pound.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



CHAPTER II.

COSTERS AND STREET-SELLERS. (*Section 58.*)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males. All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
ster and t seller .. and bird , cats- t dealer, &c.	2857	1385	6496	1254		11,992
	156	83	529	100		868
AL	3013	1468	7025	1354		12,860

re is more than the normal proportion derly men. The old and broken down ler trades sometimes take to street as a last resource. (*See* diagram.)

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	5050	Heads of Families, 5825.
	Females	775	
Birthplace	In London	66% 3815	
	Out of London	34% 2010	
Industrial Status	Employer	5% 306	
	Employed	20% 1125	
	Neither	75% 4394	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	5825	5817	12,053	65	23,760
Average in family..	1·0	1·0	2·07	·01	4·08

Distribution.

	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
	1893	3485	3937	12,860

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

ckster, higgler, hawker, pedlar, travelling or credit draper, tallyman, packman, booth keeper, coffee-stall keeper, pea and pie vendor, &c.
eders and trainers of, and dealers in, ll kinds of birds or animals (except horses), knacker, horse slaughterer, rat or mole catcher, moth eradicator.

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part III.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	8520	35·9
2 & under 3 ,,	6972	29·3
1 & under 2 ,,	4644	19·6
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant..	3459	14·5
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	79	·3
All others with 2 or more servants ..	21	·1
Servants	65	·3
	23,760	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	71%	55%	65%
Not ,, ..	29%	45%	35%

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 6788, Outer 522	7310
North	Inner 1231, Outer 2678	3909
West ..	Inner 653, Outer 1873	2526
Central	Inner 2941	2941
South-East	Inner 556, Outer 2383	2939
South-West	Inner 2924, Outer 1211	4135
		23,760

Inner 15,093, or 63 %
Outer 8667, or 37 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers. Males.	Employers. Females	Employed. Males. Under 20.	Employed. Males. Over 20.	Employed. Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females	Total.
ster and street-seller	266	195	1385	1204	356	6280	2306	11,992
g and bird dealer, catsmeat dealer, nd knacker	80	16	83	137	46	412	94	868
TOTAL.....	346	211	1468	1341	402	6692	2400	12,860
	557		3211			9092		

Street-Selling.

The itinerant vendor plays a part in the life of London which has no parallel in any other city with which I am acquainted; and of his class, the costermonger, or "street-seller of perishable goods," is the most important. His *rôle* is to save his customers the trouble of going to market by taking the market to them, and in connection with the facilities thus offered, and as a natural result of the growth of London, the original retail markets have assumed an almost strictly wholesale character. From these markets the retail shops obtain their supplies, and to them the costermonger repairs to replenish his stock.

The first and proper business of the coster is to push his barrow and sell his goods from street to street; but it has gradually come about that itinerant vendors, seeking their customers, gather together in certain places during a portion of the day or evening, and in these places their customers finally learn to look for them. Thus the circle is complete, and an informal, unauthorized market is the result. Of such natural street market-places there are, large and small, no less than 106 in London, and thirteen of them are important enough to be regarded (in a recent report to the County Council) as "retail markets in the ordinary acceptation of the term."

Although the prompt sale of perishable goods is the true basis of the business, and not much else is sold from street to street, the trade done on movable stalls in these unauthorized markets includes many things which are not perishable, such as earthenware, old clothes, and books. The sellers of these articles are not, strictly speaking, "costermongers," but are known in the trade as "pitchers," the idea evidently being that they choose their "pitch," and do their business entirely at certain spots, and not on the way to and fro. But this only expresses a rough distinction, and must not be taken too

exactly. For instance, sweets are not "perishable," but are excellently suited for peripatetic trade; and meat, though very perishable, is best sold from a fixed stand.

Some of these street-sellers keep a pony or donkey, and some do not, but with few exceptions all, whether pitchers or costermongers, use a barrow to transport their wares.* The pitcher, when he reaches his destination, transforms his barrow, which on its way through the streets has displayed nothing but boxes and loose boards, into a full-blown market stall, while the barrow of the coster is so arranged as to display its stock at all times. One other class of street-sellers there is, comprising those whose pockets contain their stock-in-trade, while a tray, held or suspended in front of them, serves to display the studs, boot-laces, toys, or nick-nacks of which it generally consists. These men, who are technically termed "draggers," frequent the City, and, themselves the smallest, are to be found cheek by jowl with the greatest children of commerce; a juxtaposition true no less in Broadway and Wall Street, New York, than in Cheapside or in Princes Street, beneath the very shadow of the Bank of England.

Of the draggers we have already said something, in treating of the toymakers they serve. The numbers of those regularly employed in this way is not great, and we may pass them by in considering the mass of those included in the present section.

In the growth of informal markets, the pitcher has followed on the heels of the costermonger, and has been himself followed by the establishment on the part of some of the shopkeepers in the market streets, of stalls in front of their own shops. This they do partly in order to keep more fully in touch with passing custom, and partly to secure themselves against the possible establish-

* Exceptions to this rule may be found in coffee stalls, hot potato ovens, and the seller of roasted chestnuts who carries his glowing furnace on his head.

ment at their very door of some itinerant seller of similar wares to those in which they themselves deal. With this development the market is complete, and such is its attractive power, that the shops themselves invariably profit by an increased custom, and the shopkeepers, though ready to complain of costermongers as competitors who pay neither rent nor rates, are usually most unwilling that the market should be closed, and have bitterly regretted the change in the few cases when, at their wish, the vestry has taken that course.

A special report made to the County Council by one of its Committees in 1893, relative to markets and market rights, gives very full and very interesting particulars of the 106 informal unauthorized markets made and used by the costermongers in different parts of London, North and South of the Thames. We shall be able to give a better sketch of the life of the coster if we first give some idea of the character of these markets. The number and description of the barrows and stalls to be found in them is subjoined, those which are classed as important being separately named.

Of the 5290 barrows and movable (or removable) stalls included in the table, 790 are attached to shops, leaving 4500 belonging to itinerant tradesmen. Of the men who deal in furniture, it may be mentioned that nearly half are sellers of crockery, which, in spite of its great weight and brittle character, seems, probably because of its extraordinary cheapness, to be found suitable for sale in this way. Those who deal in books (second-hand, or very cheap reprints) number 144, and with them in the same section there are seventy-five dealers in toys and fifty-five who sell games.* Amongst the miscellaneous sellers there are nine purveyors of medicine.

* I understand the *sale* of games to be meant, not the *providing* of them, as, *e.g.* "Aunt Sally," &c. The caterers for public amusement often to be seen in these markets, and giving to Mile End Waste, for instance, the effect of a fair, would not be counted as street-sellers.

Number of Stalls or Barrows.

Street Markets.	Perishable Articles.					Non-perishable Articles.					
	Vegetables, Fruits.	Flowers.	Fish.	Meat, Provisions, Eggs, Cats-meat.	Confectionery, Ices, Coffee, Cakes.	Clothing.	Furniture.	Books, Pictures, Toys, Games.	Old Clothes, Second-hand Goods.	Medicines and Sundries.	Total Stalls.
ng Street, Hammersmith	24	—	6	2	6	—	1	3	19	4	65
rwick Street, St. James's, Soho	10	1	4	8	—	4	4	1	—	—	32
ither Lane, Holborn	46	12	10	12	10	17	15	2	2	22	148
apel Street, Clerkenwell	23	12	9	12	7	30	13	—	9	16	131
hite Cross Street, St. Luke's.....	58	14	14	33	11	24	14	—	9	20	197
xton Street, Shoreditch	65	18	20	14	12	33	36	16	14	—	228
ick Lane, Bethnal Green	33	—	12	16	1	7	5	—	3	6	83
entworth Street, Whitechapel ...	120	—	55	43	21	26	19	—	26	25	335
atney Street, St. George's East	59	4	10	26	6	26	19	5	4	2	161
isp Street, Poplar	57	3	22	32	11	32	22	15	12	9	215
mbeth Marsh, Lambeth	17	9	4	20	17	10	12	8	9	2	108
st Street, Newington.....	19	3	8	8	4	6	10	2	—	5	65
uthwark Park Road, Bermondsey	15	24	9	5	19	16	10	10	—	5	113
	546	100	183	231	125	231	180	62	107	116	1881
these may be added for the 93 smaller markets	1246	332	290	191	225	196	351	228	113	237	3409
tal for 106 Street Markets	1792	432	473	422	350	427	531	290	220	353	5290

In addition to those congregated in market streets, there are a considerable number of isolated pitches, and there may also be itinerant costermongers counted in the census total who frequent no particular market. On the other hand, there will be some of those included in the above table who, in addition to their barrow, keep a small shop, "for the missis," and who may prefer in a census return to call themselves "shopkeepers."

Before we pass to the consideration of the lives and earnings of these men, we may say one word more as to the value of the services they render and of the markets they have created. The question became a prominent one recently owing to the frequent attacks on their customary privileges made by the Vestries and District Local Boards; until, in

March, 1894, the Court of Appeal decided that costermongers may carry on their business in the usual way without interference from the local authorities, so long as they comply with the police regulations.

"The unauthorized street markets of London undoubtedly fulfil a most useful purpose. They are practically confined to poor and crowded neighbourhoods, and are largely the means by which the surplus produce remaining unsold in the authorized markets is distributed amongst the poorer classes. Costermongers are keenly alive in ascertaining when produce is at exceptionally low prices, and are always ready to purchase and distribute an almost unlimited quantity when this is the case. By this means the humble consumer is frequently able to purchase food at a lower price than it has been quoted wholesale at the authorized market." Such is the opinion expressed in the report to the County Council already quoted. Nevertheless, the report is to some extent against the markets, "as a source of serious nuisance." But if the details given in the report are studied, it is not easy to come to the same conclusion. The question which necessarily arises is—Who are the persons injured? To whom are these markets a nuisance? And the answer must be—Not to those who frequent them, for they do so voluntarily; not to those who have shops in these streets, for their trade is increased; not to the general inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who are the people whose wants are served. The litter and refuse may indeed be accounted a nuisance, but this is inseparable from the utility of the market. The only persons whose comfort may suffer are passers-by, whose progress may be hindered by the crowd; but they in most cases might as well proceed by some other route. In truth, the nuisance is theoretic rather than practical, an offence against a rather visionary idea of civic order.

It cannot be denied that in the more active street markets vehicular traffic is interfered with. If it were not so the

market could hardly be accounted successful. In the same markets, the report says, "the footpaths are more or less blocked," which is, no doubt, true, and adds, "causing serious inconvenience." But this in all except leading thoroughfares is to be questioned. On the other hand, it is a serious inconvenience to the foot passengers to have a two-horse van forced through the crowd ; and, if interference in the name of order is needed, it might, I think, rather take the direction of closing the roadway to vehicles on market nights. This would not, of course, be either desirable or practicable in regard to the main thoroughfares, but could certainly be carried out in many of the side streets.

It is a recognized fact, which the Committee of the County Council fully appreciate, that a market must grow by natural causes. The failure of the Hungerford Market, which was located where Charing Cross Railway Station now stands, was only an earlier instance of the doom that awaited the Columbia Market in Bethnal Green. Even to revive a market in a place where one has formerly been held may meet with no success. At High Street, Woolwich, for example, there had been an established market for upwards of fifty years, but it gradually dwindled, and finally ceased altogether. The site was appointed by the Woolwich Local Board as a place where costers might stand with their barrows, but no costermonger has availed himself of the opportunity. If to establish or revive a market on a certain site be hopeless, the difficulty of transferring it from one place to another appears to be no less insuperable. An attempt was made some twenty years ago to remove the market in Crisp Street (Poplar) to a place close by, off Grundy Street, constructed on purpose, and called Randall's market. But the attempt ended in failure. Randall's buildings are now in a state of dilapidation, and the costers still congregate in Crisp Street. Even the removal of a market from one side of the street to the other may have a disastrous effect. In High Street,

Peckham, there was a market for nearly twenty years on the south side, *i.e.* the shady side, of the street, but about eighteen months ago it was removed, by order of the vestry, to the north side. Up to the time of the change the market had been increasing, but since then the number of stalls has considerably decreased. A petition was presented in this case by the shopkeepers, who complained of the competition of the costers, but who will probably, in the end, regret their interference. In another case, where the costers were removed by a like interference, the trade of the shopkeepers has fallen off so considerably that one of them, so the story goes, offered a coster £10 if he would resume his place opposite the shop, to give a lead which others might follow, but the offer was declined. The coster knew too well that one barrow does not make a market.

In view of these difficulties, but considering it "a disgrace that so necessary and extensive a trade as is carried on should be forced into the public streets for want of proper market accommodation"—holding fast, that is, to the conception of law and order which condemns unauthorized markets—the report to which we have so often referred suggests, and even urges upon the County Council, the experiment of the erection of suitable market-buildings upon the very spots now informally occupied, hoping that in this way the trade may be retained while its conditions are rendered all that they should be. It is proposed that one such experiment be made, and, if this be successful, that the principal street-markets in London should be gradually provided for in the same way, and plans are submitted for three sites, viz. Leather Lane, Holborn; Strutton Ground, Westminster; and Clare Market, near the Strand, in all of which a lively business is now done. These plans are based on the diversion of vehicular traffic to either side of a market-building, and rely for success on the willingness of those selling in the market to pay a reasonable sum for the use of it, "and it is hardly necessary

to point out that it will be absolutely necessary to prohibit the holding of markets or selling from stalls or barrows in the streets within certain distances." In the centre of each market on this plan there is a band-stand, and above the market a flat roof would serve as a children's playground, which sounds charming; but, at the end of all, the proposal is to replace an arrangement that certainly does suit the people by something which may or may not suit them, but which, in any case, is to be buttressed by monopoly.

The scheme seems too costly, too elaborate, too great a risk—and for what? Of all the complicated ills we bear in London, surely the lightest of all is, that those of us who frequent these markets should be somewhat jostled in a jolly crowd on a Saturday night.

One feature in these plans does, however, hit a very real need, and that is the provision of accommodation during the night for empty barrows and surplus stock. Even this is perhaps better left to the individual, who best knows what accommodation he wants and where he wants it; but that unsold and perishable stock should be stowed for the night in the dwelling of the vendor, it may be in the one room where he and his family eat and sleep, is an evil serious enough to justify public interference in some form.

Several of the London street-markets have been dealt with in the first or second volumes of this book—the gathering of Jews in Wentworth Street and old Petticoat Lane; the "fancy" bird and dog show of Sclater Street; as features of East London: the flowers and finery of Sunday morning in East Street (South London); the cheap meat and grimy second-hand garments of Bermondsey New Road; the noise and brilliancy of Berwick Street in the heart of central London—have all been described. In addition, there are half a dozen more which are of as great or greater value to the costermonger, and little less interest to the passer-by. Those in Little Earl Street, St. Giles'; White Cross Street, St. Luke's; and High Street, Shore-

ditch, have been in existence beyond living memory, while many others have been established for at least fifty years. All of them present very similar and familiar features: rows of barrows lining either side-walk piled up with stock, and lighted at night by flaring naphtha lamps; crowds of passers-by, some stopping to bargain or to buy, but many more mere lookers-on taking the evening air after their work; noisy vendors commending their wares, or, when some article is in vogue, selling lot after lot, with astonishing rapidity, from a fast-emptying barrow: a gay and busy scene, in the midst of which the coster toils and moils for daily bread.

The charm, and no doubt also the curse, of this life lies in its hazards—in the uncertainty of its gains. The chances that offer of large profits, quickly made, are very attractive; otherwise, the coster has no easy lot. Up early every morning, he must be at hand and ready to buy in the best market. Some days in the slack season of winter he may journey from Covent Garden to the Borough and thence to Pudding Lane, and after that to Spitalfields, and in the end have only bought a portion of the stock he wanted, or at a higher price than he could well afford; or, perhaps, has found nothing which it is worth his while to purchase. To suit his customers, things must be cheap; it is useless to point to better quality; "they must," he says, "have a cart-load for their money." In the winter he has little chance of a "win," but with the "spring meetings" of the racing season, by which calendar he characteristically measures his year, trade becomes more brisk. During the winter he has been "eating his stock," but now he is able to lay out his capital with profit, or at least the hope of profit. Now he needs all his resources, and the thrifty coster finds the advantage of being a member of a "drawing-out" club.*

* The capital of these clubs is subscribed week by week through the year, and lent at high interest to the members themselves. The money is repaid

When the busy season has commenced, instead of spending half his day in going from market to market, his object is to be first in the field, quick in buying, and early away. He must promptly prepare for sale the vegetables or fruit he has bought—"put it through the mill," as it is called; a process of washing which makes the stuff sightly. If it be soft fruit, it must be sold at once, or it will "dwindle to dribs and drabs," and become fit only to be thrown away. Sometimes, however, it is not those who buy first who buy best. There may be a glut of some perishable article—something, perhaps, that only now and then comes down to the level of the poor man's purse; and for such chances the coster must watch. He needs, also, to follow closely the quick turns of the market in the street where he is selling; not to be "left" with some lagging commodity, nor miss the chance afforded by a fortunate control of the "leading article"—that is some article which is comparatively in short supply, and needed, perhaps, for use in combination with others which are plentiful, such, for instance, as raspberries or red currants, to mix with and mitigate the flavour of the black currants, which may form that week the staple of hundreds of Sunday pies or puddings.

In addition to the risks of the trade, the coster, in pursuit of its profits, must be on his legs all day; exposed to all weathers, at all hours; and when to this is added his doubtful legal position, evidenced by the "move on" of the police and the contest with the vestries, it is plain that he needs a stout heart to meet the incidents of his daily life.

Great are the virtues demanded—good judgment, promptitude, energy, prudence, a knowledge of mankind, a ready wit. On the other hand, the business seems especially attractive to a harum-scarum, reckless, random, happy-go-lucky class, and the result is a severe and constant

by instalments during the busy time of the year, and the profits of the joint-stock usury provide a jollification at Christmas for the benefit (to a great extent) of the public-houses which organize the whole system.

struggle for existence, and earnings which vary, comparing week with week or year with year, or as between one man and another, from quite large sums of money to almost nothing at all. It is therefore impossible to assume any all-round average of earnings. It is said that hawkers of fish or fruit make from 20*s* to £3 a week, but this would not apply to vendors of shell-fish, whose profit, even with a good stand outside some music-hall, is only put at 18*s* a week, and it is the same with the seller of baked potatoes compared to the hawker of fresh vegetables.

As most articles have their season, it is necessary for a man who sells all the year round to take up first one thing and then another; this may be merely the natural sequence of flowers, vegetables, and fruit, imported or home grown, or it may involve some complete change, as the combination of ice-cream or lemonade in summer with roast chestnuts in winter. Others only resort to the trade at certain seasons, or when out of work in some other industry. Some combine sale with manufacture —bake the cakes, or make the sweets they sell—but this is not very common, as such things are now, for the most part, a factory product. The better-to-do men own their own barrows, and some keep a pony or a donkey; but many, or perhaps most, hire their barrows from week to week, and not a few also borrow the money with which to buy their stock, at rates of weekly interest, which, when multiplied by fifty-two to show the annual rate, are nothing short of amazing. The lenders of barrows, and the lenders of money, take a large part of the profits in this trade, and are joined also by a third class, who own both barrow and stock, and send out men to sell on commission. We have here the capitalist class in its vigorous infancy—like Hercules in his cradle—very well able to take care of itself.

Organization.—Costermongers have their union, started at the time of the conflict with the Holborn Board of Works

as to market privileges in Farringdon Road. It has five branches in London, with eight hundred to one thousand members, and the subscription is 3*d* per week. The organization, which has at any rate lasted three years, is specially of value in taking action to protect its members from sale-room frauds or impositions, such as the delivery of "loose" or "ullaged" barrels of fruit, containing mostly sawdust, when neither the description in the catalogue nor the sample shown, indicated more than "lightness." The union is also active in organizing "friendly leads"—a system of mutual assistance by means of benefit entertainments in favour of anyone in misfortune. These social gatherings are held in public-houses, and are very convivial in character.

Social Condition.—Whatever the proportion of "very poor" amongst this class may be—and there is no class of whose poverty it is more difficult to judge—a very large proportion of them live under crowded, or very crowded, conditions. Only 40 per cent. of these men are found in the inner circle, where rents are severe, but 65 per cent. of the families live two or more to a room, and more than half of them live three or more to a room.

CHAPTER III.

MERCHANTS AND CLERKS.

MERCHANT, BROKER, &c. (*Section* 59.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
(1) Banker, bill discounter....	3	15	527	150	695
(2) Merchant ..	14	43	2231	608	2896
(3) Broker.....	139	285	7488	1652	9564
(4) Contractor, manager (undefined)	418	114	1927	427	2886
(5) Auctioneer..	22	74	1378	356	1830
(6) Accountant	24	74	1690	333	2121
TOTAL....	620	605	15,241	3526	19,992

If we include clerks, the mean of the two sections shows a surplus of young men and a deficiency in numbers after thirty. (*See* diagram.)

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
1155	5978	5570	7289	19,992

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Broker, finance agent, money changer, lender, dealer; loan society official or clerk.
(2) All merchants who do not deal in some specified commodity (*e.g.* coal, iron, wood, &c., &c.) are returned here.
(3) Broker, agent, factor, canvasser (various trades).
(4) Superintendent, steward, inspector, overseer, foreman, managing director, ganger or time-keeper, not returned to any specific trade.
(5) Appraiser, valuer; house, land, or estate agent; house inspector.
(6) Auditor, actuary, chartered accountant.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	13,077	Heads of Families 13,278
	Females	201	
Birthplace	In London.... 41%	5463	
	Out of London 59%	7815	
Industrial Status..	Employer 34%	4539	
	Employed.... 44%	5872	
	Neither 22%	2867	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	T
Total	13,278	12,022	32,912	13,722	7
Average in family ..	1	·92	2·47	1·03	

CLASSIFICATION. DISTRIBUTION.

For full details see Appendix (Part III.).

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1221	1·7
2 & under 3 ,,	3140	4·4
1 & under 2 ,,	6110	8·5
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	27,705	38·5
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	9354	13·0
All others with 2 or more servants..	10,682	14·8
Servants	13,722	19·1
	71,934	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	17 %	3½ %	6 %
Not ,, ..	83%	96½ %	94 %

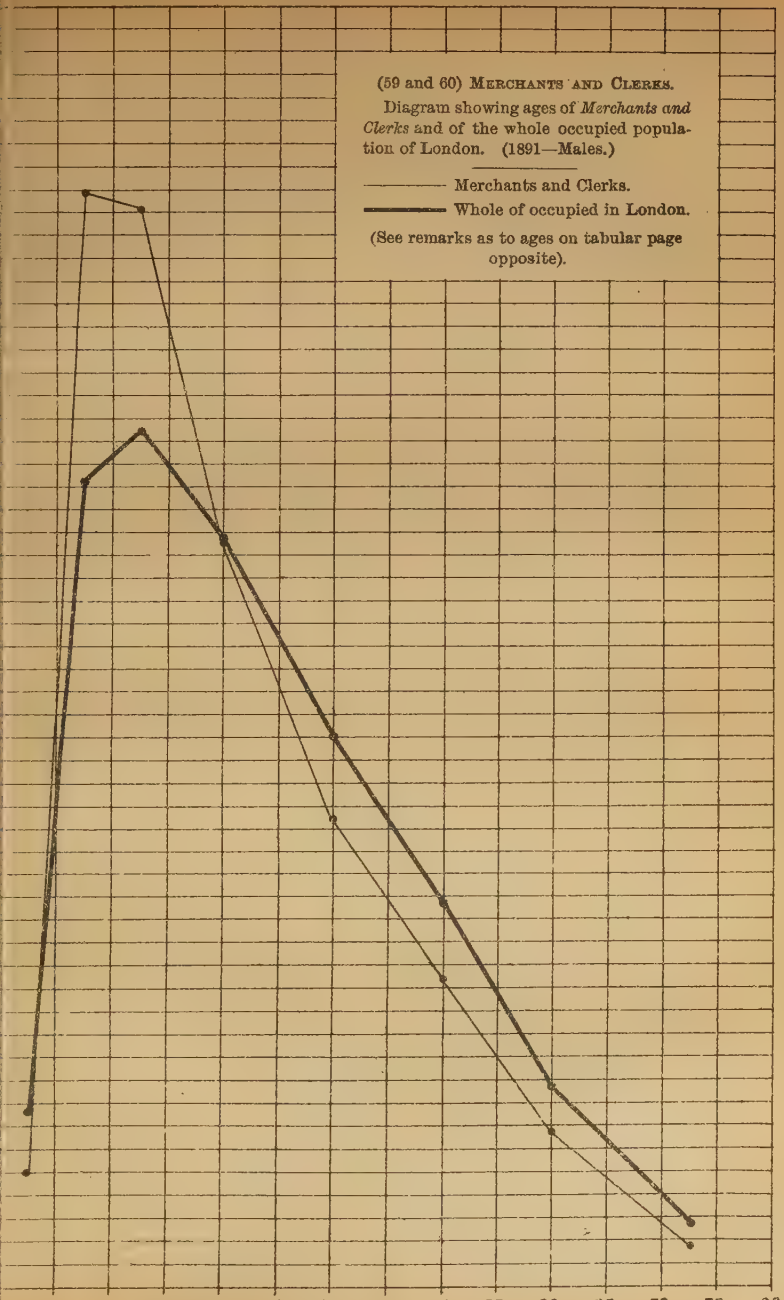
East..	Inner	2448
	Outer	900
North	Inner	2742
	Outer	18,397
West	Inner	2278
	Outer	13,870
Central Inner		2726
South-East	Inner	749
	Outer	13,382
South-West	Inner	1933
	Outer	12,509

Inner 12,876, or 18 %
Outer 59,058, or 82 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Excepting in the case of "contractors, managers, &c.," the cen does not separate employers from employed or "neither," although i evident from the family enumeration above that each class is larg represented.

(For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



COMMERCIAL CLERKS. (*Section* 60.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

s Divi-, 1891.	Females. All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
mercial	6859	21,670	46,984	3290	78,803
Service	52	739	4560	330	5681
urance re.....	193	707	4576	474	5950
egraph, phone e.....	1216	829	2027	54	4106
mercial veller, ...	390	428	11,686	1379	13,883
TAL...	8710	24,373	69,833	5507	108,423

(*See* preceding section.)

DISTRIBUTION.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
33,736	21,397	44,057	108,423

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

ok-keeper, cashier, or secretary (not vate) excepting those in government vice, law, banking, insurance, tele-ph, railway, or bookstall service. llector of debts, rents, or rates; foreign respondent (merchant's), typewriter, pyist, shorthand clerk, stocktaker ndefined). Officer of commercial com-y, guild, trade, building or investment iety, &c.

nager, inspector, agent, cashier, clerk, other bank official, clearing house clerk nk), coupon sorter,

ner, manager, actuary, secretary, ker, agent or clerk: of life, house, , &c., insurance society, friendly iety, or burial club. Averager, adjus-, underwriter.

graphist, telegraph clerk, inspector; e attendant.

sman or buyer (not otherwise cribed).

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	40,131	Heads of Families, 40,737.
	Females	606	
Birthplace	In London 51%	20,965	
	Out of London 49%	19,772	
Industrial Status	Employer 2%	695	
	Employed 94%	38,533	
	Neither 4%	1509	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	40,737	32,270	96,772	11,810	181,589
Average in family..	1	·79	2·37	·29	4·45

CLASSIFICATION. DISTRIBUTION.

For full details see Appendix (Part III.).

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	5558	3·0
2 & under 3 ,,	13,769	7·6
1 & under 2 ,,	34,448	19·0
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms	99,802	55·0
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	12,291	6·7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	3911	2·1
Servants	11,810	6·6
	181,589	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	24½ %	7½ %	10½ %
Not ,, ..	75½ %	92½ %	89½ %

East..	Inner 9651	Outer 4196	13,847
North	Inner 4508	Outer 50,873	55,381
West	Inner 3016	Outer 19,609	22,625
Central Inner			5907
South-East	Inner 3613	Outer 40,543	44,156
South-West	Inner 7493	Outer 32,180	39,673
			181,589

Inner 34,188, or 19 %
Outer 147,401, or 81 %

Status as to Employment (*according to Census Enumeration*).

is section consists almost entirely of the employed class.

Commercial Clerks.*

It has not been thought necessary to make any special inquiry into the average earnings or into the character of work done by the great class of clerks. No figures that could be obtained would add much to the information on this subject which already is common to the mind of most of my readers.

Boys, beginning at 5*s* or 6*s* a week, may rise while still lads to 20*s* in a good employ. Young men earn from 20*s* to 25*s*, and men of experience receive anything from 25*s* a week to £1000 a year. It would need a very exhaustive research to indicate what proportion of adult experienced men are to be found working at this or that rate between these very wide extremes. To hazard a guess, I should suppose that the proportion, excluding boys and quite young men, would increase from 25*s* up to 40*s* or 45*s* and then steadily decrease. When more than 30*s* or 35*s* is paid the remuneration becomes a salary, payable monthly, and is quoted at so much a year. The numbers at high salaries must be comparatively very small indeed.

A good appearance, unobtrusive dress, and neat handwriting, are the most essential qualifications for a clerk. Further, if he is to stand the constant strain of office life, a sound constitution is required. It is usually chance that determines the exact branch of clerical life he will pursue, and answering advertisements is the most generally adopted method of invoking the fickle goddess. Well-known commercial houses have waiting lists on which they enter the names of those recommended to them, and commonly give preference to sons of clerks already in their employ. The ranks of bankers' and insurance clerks are recruited in the same way, and sometimes candidates are made to pass an examination to test their acquirements. It is in commercial houses that the English clerk most

* Clerks in government or municipal employ are not included here.

severely feels the competition of foreigners, and especially of Germans.

A junior clerk in a commercial house, starting at fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years of age, earns less for his age than (for instance) a van-boy, influenced perhaps by the hope of future success and certainly by the social feeling which places clerks' work above manual employment. He may hope to become manager or master in his turn, seeing how many have done so before him, and is thus content not only to work for a nominal wage for two or three years, but for many years to earn no more than, if so much as, an artisan. As in the legal profession, the eminence of a small minority dazzles the eyes of a large number whose talents might perhaps have been more profitably directed elsewhere.

In manufacturing businesses of a low grade, where the clerical staff is small, the position of a clerk may be either especially pleasant or peculiarly irksome. If he be a clever young man and appreciated by his employers, and if his employers are themselves successful, his prospects of material advancement are certain. But an indifferent clerk in a small factory may be looked upon as a troublesome necessity; and the apparent result of his work is not unfrequently compared to his disadvantage with that of the artisan who is more evidently producing something with exchange value.

In several branches of clerical work women are largely employed. As typewriters, copyists and telephone operators they are said to excel, and here it is that the greater number are found. Although their earnings vary, the range is not so wide as with the men. In one insurance office, where, owing to the large numbers of both sexes engaged on similar work, a fair comparison seems possible, it is said that women are more accurate workers and better copyists than *junior* male clerks, but, for the most part, are inferior to the male clerk over

twenty-one years of age. This may be the result of their physical constitution and want of experience, but the fact remains that women clerks seldom earn more than from £50 to £60 per annum, and hardly ever rise to anything above £100.

It is not easy to say at what age a clerk reaches the point of maximum utility. It depends on the character of his work and still more on the continuity of his service. Employers rarely part with old servants in the situation of clerk on the score of age, or even wish to do so; and when retirement is absolutely necessary, if savings are not sufficient, a pension of some kind is not uncommonly granted. On the other hand, it very seldom happens that an old or even middle-aged man is *engaged* except for temporary work. Those who drop out, drop under. By this it is not meant that when a house of business continues to exist for many years all its clerks continue with it. Previous to middle life there is a good deal of movement amongst these men. Many change their place to better themselves. Some businesses afford no scope for advancement, and as each clerk in turn reaches a certain point, it is almost an understood thing that, while still a young man, he moves out, making room for someone younger to step up. Others do not remain because they do not suit. It may be no fault of theirs, and elsewhere they may find a place which fits them. Others from sheer incapacity sink inevitably to the most mechanical and worst paid kind of clerks' work. Others have bad health, and others again drink or are unsteady in some way. Of such as these last every charitable agency knows many.

What has been already said goes some way to explain the vast differences in remuneration we have noticed. The relations between a clerk and his employer, or between him and the work he undertakes, are usually close and personal. No one man is to be replaced exactly by another. No two office boys are quite alike in the mistakes they make. This

variety in value is true to some extent even if the work is of the dullest routine character; far more so I believe than is the case with even highly skilled artisans; and is beyond calculation when the work entrusted to the clerk becomes confidential and responsible. The value of a clerk's services thus depends closely and somewhat curiously on relations with the employer, that is to say, upon *possibilities of combination in action* between men who have learnt to know each other's ways and who suit each other. Such relations are usually formed gradually and are the essence of all high value in clerks' work.* It follows that with clerks a secure tenure of employment is of the greatest importance; he is more likely to reap the fullest return for his work by waiting than by pushing for an early advantage. His apples ripen best on the tree. This fact is often recognized in the terms of payment. In banks and insurance offices the scale of remuneration is nearly always regulated so as to encourage those who have once entered to remain as long as they are fit for work.

Financially the great mass of clerks are on a level with the great mass of artisans, £75 to £150 a year comparing with 30*s*, 40*s*, 50*s*, and 60*s* a week. But socially, and economically too, they are on an entirely different footing. From top to bottom clerks associate with clerks and

* The same peculiarity applies also, but less universally, to the relations between employers and their foremen.

It is possible that I have exaggerated the individuality in value of clerks as compared to other workers. I see more of clerks in this capacity than I do of any other class, and the shepherd finds distinctions where others note only a flock of very similar sheep. The "average undifferentiated human labour power," upon which Karl Marx bases his gigantic fallacy, does not exist anywhere on this planet, but least of all, I think, is it to be found among clerks.

If inequality of remuneration follows truly in the case of clerks upon inequality of applied value, and this is what I suggest, we perhaps catch a glimpse of a general law on which we may have more to say later—a patch of blue distance seen through the dust of our present dull tramp.

artisans with artisans—but comparatively seldom with each other. A clerk lives an entirely different life from an artisan—marries a different kind of wife—has different aims and different ideas, different possibilities and different limitations. A clerk differs from an artisan in the claims each make on society no less than in the claims society makes on them. It is not by any means only a question of clothes, of the wearing or not wearing of a white shirt every day, but of differences which invade every department in life, and at every turn affect the family budget. More undoubtedly is expected from the clerk than the artisan, but the clerk's money goes further—is on the whole much better spent.

There is good reason for the flocking of young men into the ranks of clerical labour. There has been and there still is a growing demand for such services, and no services are more useful to the community. Beyond this the profession of clerk does seem to lead to a genuine rise in the social standard of living which is a worthy object of ambition.

Societies.—Among clerks there are benefit societies offering out of work, sick and death allowance, and athletic clubs in profusion, but, with the exception of the National Union of Clerks, which has only about two hundred members, there is no organization which has for its special object the raising of wages or lessening of hours of work. There is, indeed, the National Union of Life Assurance Agents with a total membership of 1666 (1895), which includes men who have been enumerated in this section. It was established in 1886, and was founded to enforce the payment of a 25 per cent. instead of 17½ per cent. commission on policies obtained by members and to obtain the recognition of the right of any agent to sell his books, or the good-will of his round, to another. But these men are not clerks, and for clerks a trades union has no attraction. Its advantages are not apparent, the relation-

ship between employer and employed being in this case essentially personal.

Social Condition.—The superior position of clerks in the social scale is strikingly shown in our classification according to rooms occupied or servants kept. Only 10·6 per cent. live under crowded conditions, whilst nearly 64 per cent. are of the central or upper classes. (*See* table of persons represented, p. 273.)

PART IV.—LOCOMOTION, ETC.

LOCOMOTION, ETC.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

We here deal with all persons enumerated as engaged in conveyance—whether of passengers, goods, live or dead stock, and whether by road, rail or water; and a chapter has been added treating of such persons of distinctly rural occupation as are to be found in London. Thus, gardeners (whose presence here in large numbers is an interesting feature of our town life), agricultural labourers, and miners, who appear under the heading of Country Labour (Chapter IV.), are of the class of population which so largely recruits our railwaymen and carmen. Thus a certain class affinity exists, and we have thought them most conveniently treated as a sort of appendix to the chapters on locomotion.

Subjoined are tables giving statistical particulars of those allotted to this division of the volume:—

Persons represented: (A) Census Enumeration.

Enumerated by Age and Sex.

	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65—	Total.
Males	2369	16,017	23,161	97,552	9728	3754	152,581
Females	53	349	298	772	123	73	1668
Total	2422	16,366	23,459	98,324	9851	3827	154,249

Note.—I am indebted to Mr. F. Maddison for the collection of information as to the first three sections dealt with in this part (cab and omnibus men, carmen, and railway service), especially as regards the trades unions concerned, and generally on the whole subject of these employments, from the point of view of the employees.

A few young women and girls find work in nursery gardens; otherwise the employments in these sections are practically confined to men.

There are in all 93,316 heads of families, and the population included in these families is as follows:—

Persons represented: (B) Enumeration by Families.

No.	Sections.	Heads.	Total number (excluding Servants).	Per family (excluding Servants).	Servants.
61	Cab and 'Bus Service...	32,588	143,652	4·41	585
62	Carmen, Carters	25,248	117,029	4·63	230
63	Railway Service	15,357	70,494	4·59	518
64	Railway Labour	2567	11,763	4·58	53
65	Gardeners, Nurserymen	7615	32,547	4·28	491
66	Country Labour	2270	10,426	4·59	307
67	Seamen, Fishermen ...	3592	15,244	4·25	589
68	Lightermen, Watermen	4079	19,438	4·76	128
	Total	93,316	420,593	4·50	2901
	Servants		2901		
	Total population		423,494		

The social condition of these families is as follows:—

Lower Classes.	4 or more persons to a room	24,822 or 5·9 °/₀	17·0 °/₀	Crowded: 42·6 °/₀
	3 and under 4 ,, ,,	47,187 ,, 11·1 °/₀		
	2 and under 3 ,, ,,	108,109 ,,	25·6 °/₀	
	1 and under 2 ,, ,,	126,125 ,,	29·9 °/₀	Not Crowded: 57·4 °/₀
Central Classes.	Less than 1 person to a room	14,405 ,, 3·4 °/₀	26·1 °/₀	
	More than 4 rooms	90,322 ,, 21·3 °/₀		
	4 or more persons to 1 servant	5,824 ,, 1·4 °/₀		
Upper Classes.	Less than 4 persons to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants ...	2,433 ,,	·5 °/₀	
	All others with 2 or more servants...	1,366 ,,	·2 °/₀	
	Servants	2,901 ,,	·7 °/₀	
		423,494	100 °/₀	

Taken section by section, the particulars are as follows:—

Social Condition (by Sections).

Section.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to 1 servant.	Less than 4 persons to 1 servant.	Servants.	Total.
Cabmen, &c.....	25,668	40,209	45,454	31,628	693	585	144,237
Per cent.....	17½	28	31½	22	½	½	100
Carmen, &c.....	31,632	34,273	30,879	19,945	300	230	117,259
Per cent.....	27	29½	26½	17	—	—	100
Railway Service	5882	13,830	24,040	26,059	683	518	71,012
Per cent.....	8	19½	34	37	1	½	100
Railway Labour	1429	3545	3848	2883	58	53	11,816
Per cent.....	12	30	32½	24½	½	½	100
Gardeners, &c....	2296	5510	9104	15,038	599	491	33,038
Per cent.....	7	16½	28	45½	1½	1½	100
Country Labour	1574	2580	2617	3174	481	307	10,733
Per cent.....	14½	24	24½	29½	4½	3	100
Seamen	1621	3218	4372	5242	791	589	15,833
Per cent.....	10	20½	27½	33	5	4	100
Lightermen, &c.	1907	4944	5811	6582	194	128	19,566
Per cent.....	10	25	30	33½	1	½	100

Finally, arranged in order of apparent poverty, we have :—

	Employers and Employed.	Employed only.
	Crowded.	Crowded.
Carmen, &c.	56·3 per cent.	58·3 per cent.
Cabmen, Omnibus Service, &c.	45·7 ,,	48·0 ,,
Railway Labour	42·1 ,,	43·0 ,,
Country Labour	38·7 ,,	43 3 ,,
Lightermen and Watermen	35·0 ,,	36·7 ,,
Seamen, Fishermen	30·6 ,,	32·3 ,,
Railway Service	27·8 ,,	27·8 ,,
Gardeners and Nurserymen	23·6 ,,	26·2 ,,

Changes since 1861 in numbers employed.

	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Cabmen, Coachmen, Omnibus Service, &c.	28,400	35,100	38,500	48,200
Carmen, Carters	14,700	20,700	32,100	43,800
Railway service	8,300	14,400	22,200	24,800
Railway labour	2,800	2,600	3,100	3,500
Gardeners, Nurserymen	11,300	12,600	10,700	12,100
Country Labour	7,800	6,300	5,800	3,800
Seamen, Fishermen	15,400	13,700	11,700	12,100
Lightermen, Watermen	6,000	6,500	6,100	6,000
Total	94,700	111,900	130,200	154,300

It will be seen that carmen and railway service have trebled in numbers since 1861, whilst lightermen and watermen remain without any change from decade to decade, and gardeners and nurserymen with very little alteration. The apparently large increase in cabmen and coachmen is caused mainly by the inclusion in 1891 of private coachmen, who were previously returned with Domestic Service. Seamen and fishermen show some reduction, and country labour of various kinds a great and steady decrease in numbers.

CHAPTER I.

CABMEN AND OMNIBUS SERVICE. (*Section* 61.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females. All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
(1) Coach, Cab, and 'Bus service ..	74	2910	36,737	3947	43,668
(2) Tramway Service.....	·19	66	1965	54	2104
(3) Livery Stable Keeper	64	27	1879	463	2433
Total.....	157	3003	40,581	4464	48,205

The age curve is practically normal, with the omission of boys. (*See* diagram.)

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
3265	14,333	18,524	12,083	48,205

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

(1) Horse breaker, clipper, singer; groom, stableman, conductor, driver, postillion, inspector, cleaner, washer; huntsman, jockey.

(2) Tramcar conductor, driver, tipper, check examiner.

(3) Break, car, coach, omnibus, carriage, or fly proprietor; horse proprietor, breeder, trainer, dealer, couper, letter; mail cart contractor, hack or stallion master; wheel chair proprietor, attendant.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	32,506	Heads of Families 32,588.
	Females	82	
Birthplace	In London .... 42 %	13,746	
	Out of London.. 58 %	18,842	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 4 %	1395	
	Employed ..... 90 %	29,405	
	Neither .. .. 6 %	1788	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.
Total.	32,588	25,917	85,147	585
Average in family ..	1	·80	2·61	·01

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	25,668	17·8
2 & under 3 ,,	40,209	27·9
1 & under 2 ,,	45,454	31·5
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms	31,628	22·0
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	522	0·3
All others with 2 or more servants..	171	0·1
Servants	585	0·4
	144,237	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	54½ %	41 %	46 %
Not ,, ..	45½ %	59 %	54 %

Distribution

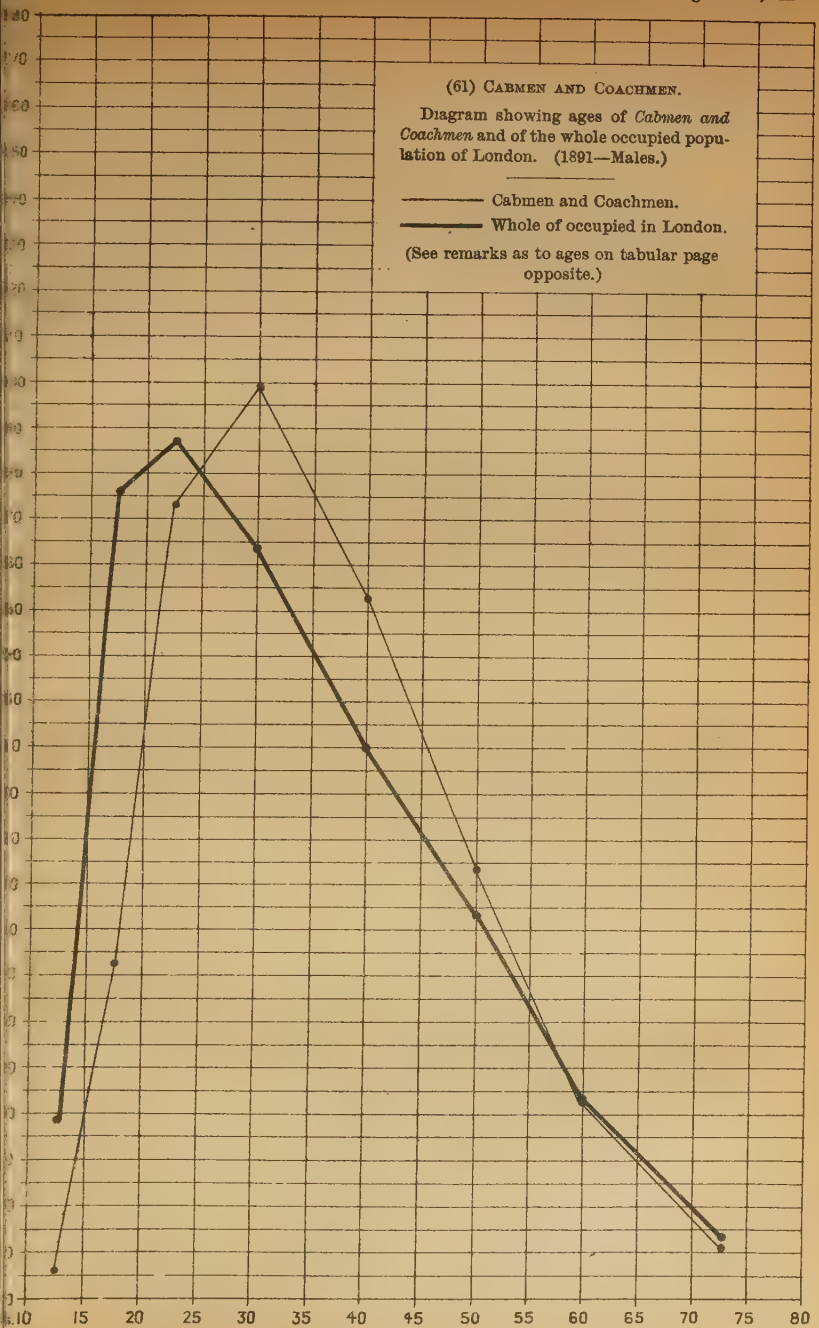
East	Inner	8133
	Outer	2132
North	Inner	13,741
	Outer	30,952
West	Inner	9277
	Outer	34,819
Central Inner		7674
South-East	Inner	1475
	Outer	11,891
South-West	Inner	9496
	Outer	14,647

Inner 49,796, or 34 %
Outer 94,441, or 66 %

Status as to Employment (according to the Census Enumeration)

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers. Males	Employers. Females	Employed. Males. Under 20.	Employed. Males. Over 20.	Employed. Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females
(1) Coach, cab, 'busman (2) Tramway service	Not separately stated.						
(3) Livery stable keeper, &c.	1067	51	27	321	1	792	5
(3) Wheel chair proprietor and attendant	17	1	—	55	3	90	3
	1084	52	27	376	4	882	8
Total (of No. 3)	1136		407			890	

(For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Cab-owners and Drivers.

Amongst cabmen there are no employees in the ordinary sense. A man either drives his own cab or pays the proprietor so much each day for the use of cab and horses. There may be some exceptions in the suburbs, where, as in provincial places, the word cab is seldom used, and the distinction between the bespoken vehicle, or "fly," and the ordinary hackney carriage, which plies for hire, is hardly recognized. In such cases the drivers are paid a regular wage, eked out by gratuities, or in some instances by a commission on the money earned. When licensed vehicles seldom, if ever, ply for hire in the streets, but are engaged either at the local railway station or at their stables, and when empty are accustomed to return direct to the place from which they came, it is easy for the owner to know within very little what fares have been received. But in London a cab and its driver launch out upon a sea of adventure, in which remuneration by wages is impracticable, both because the money earned is quite unknown and uncertain, and because the amount depends largely on the energy and judgment of the driver. It is, indeed, possible to measure the distance travelled by recording the revolutions of the wheel, and in Berlin, I believe, an attempt has been made to test the earnings in this way. But in London, at any rate, it would be very difficult to find any trustworthy relation between the mileage run and the earnings made. The result, as we have said, is that the drivers hire the cabs. Every day a fresh bargain is made, or the last day's price is repeated, and each bargain is subject to a hundred considerations.

There is night service and day service, or there are early and late turns. There are the seasons of the year and those of society, recurring regularly, but varying a little in date and very much in the period over which they extend and in their intensity; and acting on and affecting all these from day

to day, there is the weather, with the chances good and bad that it affords. Then there is the character of the cab, if hansom or four wheeler, if first-class or, if not first-class, of what degree of structural inferiority or temporary shabbiness. And if the variety amongst cabs from this point of view is very great, that amongst the horses is no less so. Anyone choosing a cab looks even more particularly at the horse than at anything else, and finds, as a rule, that good cattle and good cabs go together. Beyond this preference, a good horse will travel many more miles for a day's work, and the coveted extra sixpence will almost certainly be received by his driver.

Thus there are the elements of various and varying bargains between owner and driver, and it is not surprising if disputes should at times arise. The difficulty as to price is complicated by the fact that, as a rule, the men obtain their cabs on credit—that is, they pay the agreed hire at the close of the day out of the day's earnings. In some yards the money is paid in advance in two portions, the first payment on taking the cab out and the second portion when changing horses; but this system is not usual. Either the men have not the money in hand, or it may be they prefer to see what they make, with the unexpressed idea of finally paying less than the agreed price, in case their day's earnings should be small. The masters assert positively that unless the money is paid in advance their receipts very frequently fall short; the men do not admit this to be true, but it cannot be denied that the system lends itself to irregularity of this kind, and, so far as payment is uncertain, it must necessarily tend to the maintenance of a high and fictitious price. Some of the difficulties in their way might perhaps be lightened, if cabmen appreciated the full advantage which sure cash payments give to the buyer in any bargain.

The prices fixed for the hire of cabs after the strike of 1894 (described later) were as follows:—

June 4 to July 15 ...	6 weeks ...	16*s* per day...	(maximum).....	6 weeks	
July 16 ,, 22 ...	1 week ...	15*s* ,,			
,, 23 ,, 29 ...	1 ,, ...	14*s* ,,			
,, 30 to Aug. 5 ...	1 ,, ...	13*s* ,,	(falling week by week)	5	,,
Aug. 6 ,, 12 ...	1 ,, ...	12*s* ,,			
,, 13 ,, 19 ...	1 ,, ...	11*s* ,,			
,, 20 to Oct. 21 ...	9 weeks ...	10*s* ,,	...(minimum)	9	,,
Oct. 22 ,, 28 ...	1 week ...	11*s* ,,			
,, 29 to Jan. 14 ...	11 weeks ...	12*s* ,,			
Jan. 15 to April 1 ...	11 ,, ...	11*s* ,,	(winter level)	25	,,
April 2 ,, 15 ...	2 ,, ...	12*s* ,,			
,, 16 to May 6 ...	3 ,, ...	13*s* ,,			
May 7 ,, 20 ...	2 ,, ...	14*s* ,,	(rising gradually) ...	7	,,
,, 21 to June 3 ...	2 ,, ...	15*s* ,,			
			Total.....	52	,,

Average..... 12*s* 3*d* per day.

These prices were to be for first-class hansoms only, the rates for inferior property being left to be decided as before, but supposed to be based on these figures. As to four-wheeled cabs, a further award was made by the Home Secretary, to whom the whole dispute had been referred, but this award did not give satisfaction, and has not had much effect on the prices charged and paid. It is, indeed, questionable whether either award was much more than a bridge to peace between exhausted combatants who were tired of war.

It is doubtful if the difference in price between minimum and maximum on this list, great as it is, adequately represents the difference in the earnings to be made in and out of the season. Before this settlement, 18*s* or 20*s* was not considered too much to pay in the height of the season for a good cab well horsed, and might prove a better venture than the payment of 11*s* in the winter. Men and masters alike look to find their harvest in May, June, and July, and it is then, when all are doing pretty well, rather than in the dull season, when all alike are doing ill, that disputes occur.

For cabs which have railway station privileges the seasons are slightly different, and the earnings are rather more

constant. The owners pay a charge to the railway companies, and in return ask more from the drivers. These privileges are a source of much bitterness, and a departmental committee appointed by the Home Secretary has reported against them. The rule of all the railway companies (except one) is that cabs bringing passengers to the station have to leave at once, and although they are not forbidden to pick up a passenger, it is not often that they can find anyone seeking a cab on the departure side. Standing room in the station is allowed only to cabs recognized by the company. In this way order can be more easily maintained and a record kept of the number of every cab leaving the station and of its destination. The case of the railway companies is that what the privileged cabs pay only represents a fair return for the facilities offered, and the travelling public undoubtedly benefits by the arrangement. Waterloo is the one exception, as there, on payment of 1*d* each time it enters, any cab can make use of the station as if it were a public stand. At other stations the charge made to privileged cabs is usually 6*d* per day. If at any time the supply of privileged cabs runs short, vehicles from outside are called in, and many hang about for this chance. Railway cabs when empty are expected to return to the station and generally do so—a practice which evidently involves some loss of force. If therefore the system of admitting all comers is compatible with adequate control, it would no doubt be desirable that it should be adopted.

Hours and earnings.—Cabs are occasionally worked with only one horse, whilst some few have as many as three; but the usual plan is to employ two horses, changing once in the day. Those with a single horse are generally driven by their owners. The working hours of the men are determined by those of the horses, each of which may be out for six or seven hours, and thus thirteen or fourteen hours is usual for the man. At times this will be curtailed, and

at times extended. On occasion a man may be out as long as eighteen hours. These periods are exclusive of time occupied in the yard.

The cabman does not clean the outside of his cab, but is responsible for the inside; and before starting in the morning will often spend an hour in putting everything into good order, and adding finishing touches to his turn-out, horse, harness, and all.

It used to be customary for two men to take one vehicle for night and day service successively, but this system is dying out, and the combined hours of early and late turns cover almost all out of the twenty-four in which there is any demand for cabs. On Sunday fewer cabs are out; two Sundays in three, as a rule, are days of rest for a cabman.

As to earnings, it is said that 30*s* a week is about the average made, but it is impossible to test the truth of this statement, and it is certain that the earnings vary greatly. Compared to the time occupied, 30*s* a week would be a small return; very much less, as we shall see, than the money earned by the drivers of omnibuses. That this may be so is likely enough, as the work is much less severe, and the chances of the life have an attraction of their own. Some men will earn much more, and others, from lack of judgment or ill-luck, much less, than the average.

A cabman cannot well take more than one meal at home, and must either carry with him the rest of his daily food, or take his meals at some public-house or coffee shop. Whether they purchase food in this manner or not, most cabmen buy drink, varying more or less in quantity. Casual expenditure of such a kind is not usually considered at all by cabmen when they reckon up their earnings. From their point of view, the earnings are what money they have left out of their takings after paying for the hire of the cab. Thus the 30*s* average earnings, mentioned above, must be taken as exclusive of any moderate outgoings of this nature, and is also apart from tips to stable-

men, which, though abolished by the settlement in 1894, are still given to some extent by drivers who thus seek to secure extra smartness in their equipage.

Some men undoubtedly spend on drink a sum far more than moderate, and such men would, of course, retain so much the less to carry home. It would not be fair, however, to treat all the money expended in this way as sheer and inexcusable extravagance. It is impossible to refuse to recognize the exceptional difficulties of the life, and the great physical craving, if not need, for stimulant caused by constant exposure to the weather. Nor can one regard it as an unreasonable expenditure if the driver of a smart cab takes his dinner or supper at a public-house, where his horse also can have a little attention, in place of opening a packet of bread and meat as he sits half in and half out of his cab, or remains still seated on the box. The shelters established in recent years are, no doubt, of great utility in this respect, but the prices charged are said to be no lower than those of the ordinary coffee-house, and can hardly be so if the shelters are put on a self-supporting basis.

Good clothes are as necessary as good food in the cabman's life, nor is it only sufficiency and warmth that are demanded; a man must also look well; a smart and stylish appearance is worth money; to attract and please his customers, the man, as well as his horse and cab, must be well groomed. In addition to warm under and good outer clothing, there are some special adjuncts of the calling to be provided—water-proof cape, apron, rugs, and a cushion for the box-seat, as well as a whip. These are all termed tools, and will cost £2 or £3 a year. There is also some expense for oil for the lamps, and for such small things as flowers and bells for the horses, or perhaps for a holland cover for the top of the cab in summer, or in some cases a mat for the inside. Such things add up to a considerable sum in the course of the year if done

well, and may come to not less than 6*d* a day on the average.

Though cabmen must and do dress well, they have opportunities of picking up good bargains, and so perhaps spend less than their appearance would indicate—at the same time, with them, and also with the drivers and conductors of omnibuses, the wear and tear is great, and the expense of maintaining a creditable appearance must be considerable.

Cab Stands.—Men have their favourite stands and districts, but, as a rule, do not strictly keep to them. The inadequacy of standing accommodation in suitable places is greatly complained of. Many of the authorized stands are of no value, being in out-of-the-way places. They need to be where fares can be got, and of such it is said there is not sufficient for more than about one-tenth of the cabs plying for hire. "Crawling" is the outcome of this inadequacy. That the force of circumstances drives the men to it, is proved by the crowded state of all stands in good positions.

The assumption of the law is that any unengaged hackney carriage must be taken straight to some licensed stand. The driver may take a fare on the way, if one offers, but legally may not *seek* one—may not loiter, and may not even say, "cab, sir," to the passer-by. Any breach of these rules renders the cabman liable to summons before the magistrate and to fine. As everyone knows, this law is, in practice, not put into force. The constant presence of cabs on the look-out for a fare is one of the greatest conveniences of the London streets. At the same time, there is the law, and any policeman will put it in force if the traffic is interfered with. It is, no doubt, necessary that the traffic should be under control, and that empty cabs seeking employment should not become a nuisance; but a law which is only enforced spasmodically is bad social machinery. It would be well to have more stands conveniently placed. The report of the Committee of

Enquiry into the London cab service, lately published, suggests the improvement, and, where possible, the covering in of existing stands, and the establishment of numerous small standings fed from the larger ranks; and these suggestions are very valuable. But what seems to be still more wanted, is some provision for standing of a quite temporary and casual character. Situations where any empty cab may pull up, provided the driver remains on the box and holds himself ready to move on, if, in the judgment of the police, the traffic demands it; much as the carriages of ladies shopping or visiting the New Gallery are allowed to form a rank in the centre of Regent Street; or as carriages (and cabs too), wait at night wherever most convenient, to take up guests from West End evening parties. Streets which themselves have hardly any traffic, but which abut upon great thoroughfares, might serve for this purpose, as well as the centres of some of the wider streets. Many places might be found where the stoppage of a vehicle would cause no serious inconvenience to the traffic. If this could be arranged there would be less excuse for crawling cabs.

Licenses.—Both cabs and drivers are obliged every year to take out a license. The numbers of cabs for which licenses were issued in 1894, is :—

Two-wheeled hackney carriages	7268	10,897
Four-wheeled hackney carriages	3629	

or an increase of seventy-five hansoms, and sixteen four-wheelers upon 1893.

The new vehicles presented for license during the year were as follows :—

Hansom cabs	336	463
Clarence cabs	127	

For the same year, 14,672 licenses were issued to hackney drivers,* a reduction of 313 from 1893. The pro-

* Drivers applying the first time for a license are examined as to geographical knowledge of London—their powers of driving are taken very

portion of drivers to carriages was thus, as 13·46 to 10. In 1892 and 1893, the proportion was approximately 13·87, but in the years 1888 to 1891, it varied from 13·57 to 13·67. The excessive number of authorized drivers is partly due to the licenses held by small proprietors or the managers of larger establishments, who may occasionally be called upon, and, at any rate, prefer to be qualified, and partly to men whose regular work is in the stable, but who may be needed at times to replace others who are sick or on a holiday. Other men, again, take out a double license, and drive at times an omnibus, and at other times a cab. On this, the Commissioner of Police says, "These proportions do not appear to be in excess of requirements, taking into consideration the many proprietors holding driving licenses who seldom use them, and the numerous licensed men who, during part of the year, follow other occupations." But it must not be forgotten that cabs are at times undergoing repair; or may lack horses. A cab proprietor, parting with any horses in the slack season, would probably pause before filling up his stables. Consequently, it is only in the busy season that every possible cab turns out, and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the trade is a good deal overdone with men, and that competition in it is consequently likely to be severe.

The great number of small proprietors, who may not regularly, but do occasionally, go out with a cab is, however, very noteworthy, and may account for a considerable portion of the surplus of licensed men. The *Labour Gazette* (June, 1894) states that "the greater part of the London cab trade is in the hands of small owners, as is shown by the fact that, in 1892, the number of cab proprietors in London was about 3600—3125 owning less than five cabs each; 470, five cabs and under one hundred; and only four

much for granted. The license costs 5*s*, and has to be renewed each year, and is subject to endorsement by a magistrate, or suspension by the Chief Commissioner in case of offence.

(since reduced to three) owning over one hundred cabs. Since that year the number of owners has probably fallen slightly. The three firms which now own over one hundred cabs each, account for less than six hundred" out of ten thousand. Similar figures were submitted in evidence to the Labour Commission.

Apart from the regularly licensed small proprietors, there are a number of men who only hire a cab at the best season —"butterflies" the other men call them. Even artisans have been known to leave their workshops yearly at these periods to drive cabs, but such cases are rare compared to the temporary blossoming of a stable hanger-on into a licensed driver. There is another and, happily, a small class, who combine cab-driving with very shady occupations, being touts for prostitutes upon whom they live. Others get their living by betting or as agents of bookmakers. Such men are only a handful comparatively, but help to bring discredit on cabmen as a whole which is far from being deserved.

Convictions.—Amongst the fifteen thousand licensed men, there were, in 1894, 320 convictions for reckless driving, 141 for cruelty to their horse, sixty-five for using bad language, ninety for assault, and two for overcharge. For drunkenness, 1340 men were convicted, of whom four were convicted four times, twenty-three three times, 141 twice, and 1172 on one occasion only. The cases of drunkenness show, on the whole, a slightly decreasing proportion, being as follows for the last five years :—

1890	...	1421 men convicted	out of	15,336,	or 9·3	per cent.
1891	...	1327	,,	15,219	,, 8·7	,,
1892	...	1350	,,	15,011	,, 8·9	,,
1893	...	1202	,,	14,985	,, 8·0	,,
1894	...	1340	,,	14,672	,, 9·1	,,

There were also, in 1894, 3985 convictions for offences of a minor character, such as plying for hire off a standing, loitering, causing obstruction, leaving carriage unattended,

stopping on crossing, stopping on wrong side of road, delaying on journey, &c., &c.

In the course of the year, twenty-nine licenses were revoked and eleven were suspended.

The men complain, as to the minor offences, that they are at the mercy of the police, and, except by the officers' good will (or good sense), can never escape fines, which cause endorsement of the license. Obedience to one constable's instructions may bring them into collision with another; so complicated, out of date, and irritating are the cab laws and bye-laws.

As to the record for honesty, the Commissioner of Police reports that during 1893, 28,270 articles which had been left in cabs were deposited, an increase on any previous year. Of these articles, 15,310 were restored to the owners, and the awards to the finders amounted to no less than £2459. Purses alone numbered 1949, one of which contained £107. There were also many bags, containing considerable sums of money and valuable jewellery. Loose coins to the number of 119 were brought in, of which fifty-seven were gold (a proportion which, no doubt, indicates that the cabman who finds sixpence or a shilling is guided by the rule, *de minimis non curat lex*). Articles of jewellery numbered 566, and there were ninety-four watches and forty-three clocks. The rest of the property consisted of umbrellas, bags, opera glasses, and miscellaneous articles of every description. We may agree with the Commissioner in thinking "that these facts (which apply to omnibus conductors as well as cabmen) speak well for the general honesty of drivers and conductors of public carriages, and that they also show that the present system of dealing with property found in public vehicles is working well." If any article is not claimed within three months, it is (with few exceptions) returned to the finder, but meanwhile great efforts are made to trace the owners. If the people who leave articles in cabs had a little more faith than is

sometimes the case, and would give themselves the trouble to go, or write, to Scotland Yard, the system would work still more perfectly.

Fares.—London cab fares are fixed by law, as everybody knows, at 6*d* per mile (within a certain radius), but with an optional minimum charge of 1*s*. In practice rather more than the legal fare is given, and even expected, for first-class cabs in a first-class neighbourhood. In addition to having the fares recorded conspicuously in the interior of each cab, the law provides for tickets to be given to passengers, and a penalty can be imposed in case of the driver neglecting to do this, but the regulation is a dead letter. It might, however, be found very useful should an attempt be made to provide a cab service at less than the legally authorized prices. As, for instance, in the provision of short cheap fares, which many advocate as necessary in order to compete with a similar move already taken by the omnibuses.

Demands for increased interference by law in this trade are frequently made, but it might perhaps be better to step back a little, and by raising the official maximum charge to the public, encourage the voluntary establishment of a special popular cab service at something else than the authorized rates.

Social characteristics.—The cabmen's trade is one to which all sorts of men find their way. Many an educated man, who can do nothing else to earn a living, can drive; and if put to it will seek his daily bread in this way. In the strike of 1891, it was by a man of University education that the books were kept. Cabmen have plenty of opportunity for reading the daily papers and for discussions amongst themselves, and as a result are generally up to date in general information, and often keen politicians, many being members of Radical clubs. It is these men, one hears, who are the most conservative of all on trade questions. Many, again, are prominent in their temperance

or religious views, and one cabman is well known as a secularist lecturer on Sunday in the parks.

By constant contact with all kinds of people cabmen become very observant, and often know more of those they drive than the latter imagine. Moreover, a certain confidence is reposed in their discretion, and many a doubtful piece of business is transacted under their eyes—not indeed that there would be such evidence as would even warrant them in making their suspicions known, but about which they have little doubt in their own minds.

The relations between the cabmen and the public they drive are, on the whole, very pleasant, and if at times they become otherwise, the fault is not confined to the side of the cabmen. Black sheep amongst cabmen, men who, if they fail to cajole, attempt to bully, are to be found, but are not common ; and, on the other side of the account, amongst the public is the "bilker" who evades payment by escaping unseen through the side door of some shop or public-house, leaving the unfortunate cabman to remain outside till tired of waiting, and then perhaps to lose more time still in fruitlessly seeking payment or revenge.

Cabmen are proud of their record for safe driving, and point to the annual returns of street accidents which show that vans and light carts are responsible for twice the number of accidents due to cabs. The bulk of cabmen are Londoners by training if not by birth ; the knowledge of the streets which is required militating against men fresh from the Provinces. They may also, I think, be proud of their horses and of the humanity as well as safety of the driving. It is remarkable how seldom the whip is used. There is, however, one exception, one serious blot, and that springs from the effort to be first up when the whistle sounds for a cab, and a rush is made which is alike injurious to the horses and dangerous to the public.

Health.—The principal diseases from which cabmen suffer, namely rheumatism, bronchitis and chest complaints

generally, are those due to exposure to the weather. These diseases are aggravated by indulgence in strong drink, a habit which, as already indicated, is prevalent amongst cabmen, although there are, on the other hand, not a few abstainers and a flourishing temperance society among their numbers. It must, however, be said that the publicity to which the men are exposed, and the fear of having their licenses endorsed, prevent a good deal of excess. A man may drink, but he must on no account get drunk. The mortality returns, so far as they can be applied to this trade, do not give it a favourable position for longevity, but some of those who survive continue to drive to a very considerable age, there being, amongst those holding licenses in 1893, 975 between sixty and seventy, 162 between seventy and eighty, and one over eighty.

Organization.—The first attempt at organization amongst cabmen appears to have been made in 1867, when a society called the Licensed Cabdrivers' Trade Union Society was formed, and it was for the time an advanced body, being much ahead of the period. It was a thorough trade union. One of its principal rules guaranteed to the owners two-thirds of their hire money provided rates of a reasonable character, to be mutually agreed upon, were charged. After the collapse of this society there followed the Amalgamated Cabdrivers' Society in 1871, which was in existence thirteen years. Its failure is said to have been largely due to financial losses in connection with a club which it started. In 1890, the Metropolitan Cabdrivers' Trade Union was formed. It had a humble origin, a few men subscribing a small amount for propagandist work, which was ultimately successful in gathering together a good number of men. In 1891 occurred the great strike, the largest and best maintained which ever took place in this business. It lasted nearly three months, and considerably over £3000 was collected and distributed as strike pay. The dispute turned purely on the price paid for the cabs by the men, who demanded a

maximum of 17*s*, and though the strike was, on the whole, a failure, in many cases the proprietors conceded this demand, as much as 3*s* per day being taken off some of the rates. The men, however, fell away from their union and the old state of things re-appeared, culminating in a general strike of cabdrivers which occurred in 1894, lasting from May 15th to June 11th, when the dispute was referred to the Home Secretary, and a maximum tariff fixed as already given on page 291. By this award the men obtained, not indeed all they had asked, but a substantial reduction in the scale of price paid for cabs, especially in the height of the season. This strike resulted also in a reconstruction of the union, which took place in the autumn of 1894. The new union, called the London Cabdrivers' Trade Union, has a membership of nearly four thousand, but as it has not at the time of writing had a year's life, its income and expenditure cannot be usefully given. Stablemen, &c., are excluded from its ranks, none but licensed cabmen being eligible. Subscriptions amount to about $2\frac{3}{4}d$ per week. The benefits offered are £10 at death, legal aid in case of accident suffered by members or for which they may be held responsible; and 2*s* 6*d* per day in case of a strike, or if a member is discharged through some trade dispute. In case of disputes, the ultimate decision lies with the members at large, but the ordinary government of the society is as usual by branches, with executive and duly elected officers. The declared object of the society is to improve the condition of cabmen.

Unionists and non-unionists both take cabs from the same yard, though there is considerable friction at times; this is scarcely to be wondered at, when it is borne in mind that through the action of the men who formed the union as much as 1*s* 7*d* per day extra goes into the pockets of unionists and non-unionists alike. Relations between the union and the employers are said to be on the whole fairly good. Some rumours of coming trouble were heard this spring (1895), but happily peace has been preserved.

A fruitful source of difficulty is the short-lived advantage of improvements on the earning powers of cabs. Not only does each cab as it becomes old lose its attractiveness, but beyond this, the effect of improvements is in great measure lost if they are generally adopted. One does not hire a cab *because* of such advantages, one only rejects if possible the cab that is without them. At first the cost is well repaid, and, as a consequence, it must be remembered, inferior vehicles suffer in proportion; but as the improvements become general their effect on earnings is much less. The rider in a cab with india-rubber tyres, when these were first introduced, would perhaps be pleased enough to pay an extra sixpence, but few would do so any longer now that this luxury has become common.

Even so considerable an improvement as self-acting doors or such graceful little attentions as a looking-glass, or cigar-lighter, now attract slight notice, and novelty is only found to-day in the provision of a carriage clock.

Municipal ownership of cabs is favoured by some of the men; others claim that the number of licenses issued, both to men and vehicles, should be regulated and limited; and others again advocate the regulation by the municipality of the prices to be paid by the drivers to the owners of cabs. These views demand consideration as being held by some of the more thoughtful of the men. It is contended that the State, having dispensed with free trade in part, by the establishment of a tariff of fares and by the system of licenses, cannot reasonably refuse to go further. If a driver is limited in his charge to the public the owner should also, it is said, be restricted in his price. Thus the argument leads, and is intended to lead, to complete municipal ownership.

It is doubtless true that interference by law in any bargain leads on to dangerous ground. But it is one thing to legally fix one point in a bargain—such as the maximum fare in this case—and quite another to attempt to

regulate the whole transaction. The fixing of the fare still leaves a good deal of play for competition. The men, working under these limitations, know what they can afford to give for the cab; and the cab-owner will adjust the number and style of his cabs to the possibilities which the trade thus regulated affords. If the standard fare is set fully high (as is now the case) cabs will be plentiful in the streets, and the quality will improve. If the tariff is set low, either the number of cabs will decrease, or an inferior vehicle will be provided, or perhaps both these things will happen. In effect the public fixes its price; and those who serve it, masters and men combined, do as much as they can for the money. But if, having decided at what rate it will hire its cabs, it seeks also to fix what the price per day shall be between owner and driver, it enters upon a sea of difficulty, which could only end in complete municipal ownership.

This final condition would be in no sense impracticable. There is nothing to prevent any municipality from becoming, under monopoly, the sole capitalist in such an undertaking. The streets are already in its hands, and all traffic is now carried on under its regulations. It would not even be a very large undertaking. But I question if the public would be well served, or if the men who drove the cabs could be successfully remunerated in any different fashion from that which now prevails. Any attempt to regulate the supply of cabs otherwise than according to the actual demand for them by the public in the streets, seems futile; and no less so any plan of remunerating by wages men who receive money from the public in return for the services they render. Nor would it seem possible to limit the number of the drivers, or to determine otherwise than by bargain the price to be paid by the driver for the use of the cab, without creating a private privilege as well as a public monopoly. From this chain of circumstances there seems no escape. Nor would a monopoly in this business result

in greater efficiency or in the saving of money. Cab-owning is a business of detail. It may be more advantageous to run ten or fifteen cabs from one establishment, but the economy of working on a large scale hardly extends any further than this. We have seen that the number of large undertakings in this trade is very limited, and it is noticeable that it is the largest among them that find most difficulty in satisfying their drivers. The consolidation of all this business into one gigantic monopoly thus offers no economic benefits. It is in fact impossible to suppose that the purchase and management and daily care of ten thousand cabs and twenty thousand horses could be as successfully undertaken by officials, on whom financial responsibility could hardly fall, as by men whose living depends on the result of their profit and loss account, and whose profits are closely regulated by competition one with another.

What then can be done by or for the men to improve the conditions under which they work? It is a case for united action. A union which is constituted as a benefit society as well as a fighting organization, and so maintains its full strength in peace as well as war, could undoubtedly exercise a steady and effective pressure against casual competition, and in favour of rates of hire which leave all the year round a fair return.* If the union were strong enough to guarantee as well as control the prices paid for cabs, it would be a great step towards reducing these prices to their lowest possible point. Or if this is not possible, they might advocate payment in advance as the

* I venture to suggest that it is a mistaken policy for the men to follow the line of the owners' profits, and expect to make a large harvest for themselves in the busy season. Something more they will easily make then, but their efforts should rather be devoted to lowering still further the price paid for cabs in the dull season. The reason for this is to be found in the comparative ease with which their places can be filled in the busy season if the inducement to outsiders or "butterflies" to enter the trade becomes great.

best way of disposing of the too common assertion—that the rates, if high, are frequently nominal. Only in some such way, by perfect security of payment, can the bottom rates be reached, and I am much mistaken if the little capital needed to pay half the day's hire on taking out the cab, and the other half on changing horses, would not be returned many times over in the course of the year.

Beyond this, cab-owning appears to be a business eminently suited for co-operative action. That such action has been tried and has failed proves nothing more than that, in this as in so many instances, co-operative enterprise has been attempted without sufficient perception of the difficulties to be overcome, without a realization of the functions of management, or what it is that the employer contributes to industry. But these difficulties are not insuperable—the requisite knowledge and experience are not out of reach, and it may be confidently hoped that in this, and many other equally suitable trades, co-operative undertakings may prosper, and, by competition with individual ownership, place on a sound and permanent basis the standard wage.

Private Coachmen, &c.

The 43,000 persons returned as coach and cabmen in the 1891 census include the drivers of private carriages and those of vehicles let out on hire by jobmasters as well as cabmen. In previous years an attempt was made to distinguish private servants, but it is not possible to make such a distinction with any pretence to accuracy. The number of private coachmen could, indeed, be ascertained by reference to Inland Revenue returns; but even if these were available, they would not show entirely correct results for London, as very many of the owners of private carriages in the metropolis have a second home in the country, and are quite as likely to be taxed there as in London. The

usual wages of coachmen in private employment are from £5 to £7 a month, with livery, and some allowance for stable clothes. They and their families live in rooms over the stables, and are often provided with fire and light at their master's expense. They are probably cared for and assisted if at any time they or their belongings are ill, and altogether enjoy, as do all the servants of the rich, a considerable share of the comforts of life. Most of the men are married, and children abound, with the result that in the circumscribed quarters which they occupy there is a great deal of crowding. It is one of the cases in which crowding is no measure of poverty, but there must be a considerable degree of discomfort connected with it to be placed to the debit of the account.

The working hours in London are very long, especially in the season, when the men may sometimes be expected to be early in the Row irrespective of the time at which they may have retired to rest. But the hours kept, as well as the amount of work to be done, vary very greatly between one stable and another, according to the habits of the family. As a rule the men are genuinely "not afraid of work," and take the greatest possible pride in the results, being perfectly satisfied so long as the carriages and horses they drive are creditable. Beyond wages and regular perquisites, a coachman will add something to his income from gratuities, and, possibly, from commissions, of which some may be considered legitimate, and others not. The trustworthiness of these men as a class is, however, not impugned. There is no reason to suppose that they are not on the average just as honest as their neighbours.

The coachmen employed by liverystable keepers are a slightly different class. They receive regular wages—about 30*s* a week—and eke this out with tips from the customers. They provide their own livery. This life suits some men better than private service—they feel more independent. They do not live at the stables, but take

rooms, or half a house, wherever they please in the neighbourhood.

In addition to the drivers of cabs and carriages, this heading in the census also includes grooms and others engaged about stables. There is, it is true, a separate heading for liverystable keepers, which includes 2433 persons, but it is doubtful whether any distinction of much value can be drawn.

The pay and position of grooms and stablemen varies very greatly, from that of men who earn as much as coachmen, and are no less regularly employed, to the most casual hangers on, who receive no wages, but scrape along on the small sums they receive from the actual wage-earners in return for petty services. There are also a large number of lads employed, both in and out of livery. The stable-helpers are found in all kinds of stables, and may be connected with cabs and omnibuses, as well as with jobmasters and private service. They may also be employed in business stables, and at this point some confusion is possible between this section and the otherwise quite distinct occupation of carmen.

Horsekeepers and similar men drive pleasure brakes when required. Their wages when so engaged range from about 25*s* to 32*s*. There are also the men who go out with the carriages used by commercial travellers, and who are said to be very poorly paid, from as low as 15*s* to about 21*s* per week, but they no doubt receive something in the form of gratuities. These trades are part of the usual livery-stable work, and the men employed are of the same class as ordinary coachmen or grooms.

Omnibus and Tramway Service.

We largely owe to French enterprise the presence of omnibuses in the streets of London, as the London General Omnibus Company was a French undertaking, and for

long had its headquarters in Paris. For our tramway system we have to thank America, and at first the cars used were all built in the United States.

The tramways are not admitted into the heart of London. They have, however, a great field on the south side of the Thames, where each important bridge, except London Bridge itself, is made the terminus of one or more lines. From the north they draw in as far as Euston, Holborn, Aldersgate, and Moorgate; and from the east they approach the City boundary at Aldgate. As London grows, so the part they play in its life increases, and the most moderate form of municipal socialism demands the acquisition by the public of the property and privileges of the various companies which run these lines. The possibility of some such action was indeed contemplated when permission to lay the rails was granted to the companies.

Omnibuses were used earlier, and their development has required no special legislation. The story of this enterprise, as of much of the industrial effort of our times, has been that of growth by alternate contest and amalgamation. This is, in effect, a beneficent process which goes far to justify freedom of industrial action, for every contest is based on some effort to supply the public with an improved service, and every amalgamation, while maintaining the improvement, economises useless expenditure in rendering it. The General Omnibus Company includes the John Bull Association—itself an amalgamation—the Atlas Company, and others whose names have been merged and lost. Moreover, the London General Company itself, so far as its business extends to the south of the Thames, belongs to an association of south-side companies.

The last great contest between the London General Company and the Road Car Company has now passed the active stage, and, since the strike of 1891, has given place to combined action. This particular struggle, besides being on a larger scale than any that have pre-

ceded it, is noteworthy as connected with the establishment of the outside staircase and garden-seat top, fraught with far-reaching social consequences. A generation will soon arise to whom it will appear inconceivable that no longer ago than in 1883, the sexes, if travelling at all together by omnibus, usually separated at the door, the woman to enter a somewhat dark and very stuffy interior, while the man, if agile enough, seized a strap and climbed a perpendicular ascent, with a bare foothold of iron ladder or projecting steps, to the "knife-board" above; or, mounting by the wheel, swung himself up beside the driver. If the omnibus were full, and wet weather had driven men inside, an appeal was made, and "to oblige a lady," some man would change his place within for one outside. With the Road Car Company rests the credit of abolishing this uncomfortable plan, and in remembrance thereof the omnibuses of this company still "carry the flag."

The struggle between these two great companies also introduced the ticket check system, and it was the imposition of this system on the servants of the General Omnibus Company which brought about the strike of 1891.

The service of the London General Company was popular. Opposition omnibuses were called pirates, and sometimes, by extortionate charges, deserved the name. The company encouraged the efforts of their men to serve and please the public, winking at, and allowing the men to profit by, a system which, but that it was tacitly acknowledged, could only be described as peculation. If the money received rose above a certain sum—which would vary a little according to circumstances—the conductor kept back the surplus. On the other hand, a certain amount was expected by the company, and if, one time with another, it was not forthcoming, the conductor was discharged. Whether he had failed to collect enough or had helped himself too freely was not inquired into. No character was asked when the

man was appointed, and none given when he left. The result was that, when necessary, a man would make good a deficiency out of his own pocket, and the system came finally to be regarded almost as though the omnibus had been hired from the company, and was run by the men on their own account. The practice was not, however, openly acknowledged. The men drew regular (though rather low) wages, and the additional money made was never strictly defensible. The driver had his share of the plunder, and tips were given to the stablemen, whose interest it thus became to turn out the omnibus and horses in good condition. Everybody was pleased. The shareholders received a good dividend, and their property was well cared for; the manager had little trouble; the men one and all were well and even handsomely paid, and took great pride in their work; and lastly the public were attentively served at prices which, though not so low as have since obtained, did not appear excessive and were willingly paid.

An accident—the losses directly consequent on the heavy snowstorms of an exceptional winter—broke the charm of this idyl of trade. The dividend was not earned, the shareholders grumbled, the manager sent in his resignation, the "bell punch" was introduced, and the men left their work. Such was the origin of the strike of 1891. The dispute, however, involved also the men of the Road Car Company, in whose service the check system had been adopted from the first, but who came out in sympathy, and was fought more perhaps against the long hours worked than against the amount or method of pay. It was indeed impossible for the London General Omnibus Company's men openly to avow and defend the plan of self-payment which, under the system we have described, had served to sweeten the long hours they had worked, and herein was a source of weakness to the strikers.

This strike was a remarkable instance of spontaneous combined action. The men were practically unorganized.

There was indeed a union, but this consisted chiefly of tram men, and moreover was more of the nature of private individual philanthropic effort than of true combination. Nevertheless, within twelve hours from the declaration of the strike not a single omnibus belonging to the companies involved was at work. The men met at midnight on Sunday, June 6th, 1891, and after two hours' discussion the vote was passed. By Sunday afternoon the streets of London were almost devoid of omnibuses. The strike was carried out in a very fierce spirit. The pickets even attempted to prevent men, required to feed and water the horses, from entering the yards. It was, however, a very short affair. Within a week it was all over. The terms offered by the company on Monday were those accepted by the men on Saturday, and it is difficult to imagine that a settlement could not have been reached in some less costly manner, and with less bitterness of feeling, if there had been a little more willingness on the part of masters and men to meet each other. The whole story is well told in the evidence laid before the Labour Commission in 1892. The settlement reduced the hours to twelve, with one day off every fortnight, and raised the pay of the drivers, conductors, and stablemen of the General Omnibus Company, 1*s* per day, but the check system was maintained. The Road Car Company accepted the same terms, which, however, did not with them represent so great an advance in wages, but to their men the alteration was all profit, whereas the men of the General Omnibus Company, especially the conductors, earned far less under the new regulations than they had been accustomed to take before the introduction of the check system. To the Road Car Company the change has involved the loss of the greater part of their dividend, which was never very large. The result on the General Omnibus Company is not so easy to measure. The old plan undoubtedly stimulated to the utmost the efforts of both drivers and conductors, so that probably more money was earned, and on the new plan a large sum

is spent on inspectors; but, on the other hand, the leakage was without doubt a very large item indeed; some of the conductors are said to have made as much as £4 or £5 in a good week formerly.

Hours of work.—The shorter hours agreed upon as the outcome of the strike have not been found to work conveniently, and there has been a tendency to revert to the old system, especially with the London General and with private omnibuses, as also with some of the smaller companies, to which indeed the agreement may not have applied. The hours are now oftener fifteen than twelve, and where the twelve hours' rule applies it is usually attained by alternate days of fifteen and nine hours. As to the fortnightly holiday, though facilities for it may be given, it is by no means a regular institution. Some of the companies encourage the shorter hours and the day off; others perhaps discourage them, but in the main the decision rests with the men, many of whom prefer longer hours for more money.

In some cases the day's work is reduced by the allowance of time in the middle of the day, when part of the omnibuses are withdrawn. It is, however, not always possible for the men to spend these hours at home, and the plan is not one which falls in comfortably with family or social life.

Everyone will admit that fifteen hours' work, involving something more than fifteen hours' absence from home every day, is too much for any father of a family. If he works also on Sunday he can hardly see his children except as they lie asleep in bed. As to a free Sunday—or at least a regular weekly or fortnightly holiday, falling sometimes on Sunday and sometimes on other days—there is no serious difficulty. The companies would only need to supply a sufficient number of extra men, who would relieve all the others in turn, and all alike would be employed six days out of seven, or thirteen out of fourteen; but when men

lose wages, and know they lose wages, for every holiday, many do not wish to take even one day in fourteen as a regular thing, and hardly any would care to have the relief systematised. They would rather take a day as they want it, and the relief must then be casually arranged to suit them. As to a shorter day, it is different. The question of wages does not at once present itself, the demand formulated being always for shorter hours at the *same* pay. To meet this, the plan adopted by the London General and Road Car Companies of paying 1*s* extra per day to those who work over twelve hours is not without effect. The work is trying as regards exposure to the weather, but is not otherwise exhausting, and although it is very well that the unions should encourage the men in asking for shorter hours, and do their utmost to maintain any advantage gained in this respect, yet, at the end of all, men can scarcely be refused the liberty of deciding for themselves whether they prefer to earn 36*s* a week for six days of twelve hours, or from 42*s* to 50*s* by working longer hours and sacrificing the weekly holiday. If a fair living is represented by a fair week's work, and if the system adopted by the employers is so far elastic that no man is *constrained* to give more than a reasonable amount of time to the work, nothing further, one should say, can be demanded.

The hours of the tram-men range from twelve upwards, and may average thirteen and a half per day.

Neither omnibus-men nor tram-men have any definite time allowed for meals, except that on some tramways there is a system of mid-day relief for dinner and rest, the long day being shortened in this way. As in the case of the omnibus companies, however, the plan is not very popular with the men. Omnibus-men usually take their food at the stable end of the journey. Those who leave the yard at 7.30 and finish perhaps at 10.30 (the long day) are in charge of the omnibus the whole time, but there may be intervals

of about twenty-five minutes three or four times a day available for meals.

Sunday work for both omnibus and tram men differs very little from that of any other day, except in beginning later. On busy pleasure roads especially it is one of the hardest days of the week, for though the men begin one journey later, they often finish later also, and are kept constantly going all day.

Wages, &c.—The two large companies pay as follows:—Drivers, 6*s*, and (after twelve months' service) 6*s* 6*d* per day of twelve hours; 1*s* extra if working over twelve hours on average. Conductors, 4*s* 6*d* and 5*s* per day of twelve hours; 1*s* extra if working over twelve hours on average. Inspectors, 35*s* per week. "Spots" (private detectives) are said to have 30*s*. Horse-foremen (promoted from drivers), £3. 10*s* per week. Horsekeepers (ostlers, &c.), 28*s* per week. Washers, 2*s* per omnibus, or about 30*s* per week.

All weekly rates are for *seven* days. Drivers, conductors, &c., are paid by the day; paid, *i.e.* for all the days on which they work, Sundays included. Thus a driver who works long hours every day may make 52*s* 6*d* in the week (7*s* 6*d* by 7), but this is a very severe task, and leaves him practically no time at all with his family.

Casual men, put on as required, where no regular fortnightly relief is organized, receive for the time the wages of those whose places they fill. In some instances the "odd men" only do three hours a day, and one company pays by the mileage run. The amount earned by these men is usually very small.

Outside lines amongst omnibus companies are reported to treat their men better than either of the large companies, and to keep their employees longer. The wages are said to be better, and the relations between masters and men more friendly, but the hours are certainly not shorter. Some of these lines adopt a check system, but most of them

do not, and when this is so mutual relations of interest seem to spring up. It is perhaps a rank soil, but flowers do grow in it.

The check system is declared by the men not to be altogether effectual in stopping peculation, though it is admitted that it has done so to a large extent. It is also claimed by those who still cling in memory to the old system that the public are not so well served, and that with smaller receipts and the additional expense of inspectors and detectives the shareholders gain nothing. That the old plan engendered a pernicious spirit is, however, hardly denied. It may perhaps be possible to contrive some plan which, steering between Scylla and Charybdis, shall avoid hurtful suspicion and yet find means to put a natural premium on energy and honesty. Under the pressure of the check system tips from drivers to stablemen are not any longer necessary, and to recompense them for loss in this direction, the horsekeepers obtained 1*s* per day advance in wages. The drivers say, however, that unless they give something, less attention is paid to the horses. These remarks apply rather to the General Omnibus Company than to the Road Car Company, where the check system was always in force.

The following are the usual wages of tram-car men :—

Drivers, 5*s* 6*d* per day. Conductors, 4*s* 6*d* per day. Inspectors, 35*s* per week. Horsekeepers, 24*s* per week. It will be seen that all these rates are lower than those paid by the omnibus companies. The driving needed is far less skilled.

Omnibus-men are daily employees, and sign no agreement, except as to an accident fund. They can be discharged at the end of each day. Tram employees are weekly servants, but are frequently discharged without notice. The union, however, always sues the companies for a week's wages, if the dismissal is without justification by fault committed, and are able to sustain their demand.

There is no exact boycott, but men dismissed by one company may not find it easy to get work from another.

Dress is a considerable item of expense in the lives of these men. There is no compulsion on either drivers or conductors to dress up to any given standard, but pride or self respect, or a pardonable vanity and emulation, or a desire to do what is customary, exercise an influence hardly to be resisted; and apart from this, warm clothes are essential, while the wear and tear of exposure are very trying to any not made of good materials. The driver, besides clothes, has to find whip and thongs, costing about 18*s* 6*d* a year (the thongs need renewal every six weeks), and provides his own rugs.

The busiest time on all routes is during May and June, the height of the London season, but even in August and September omnibuses are rarely taken off.

Accident Fund.—Drivers and conductors of both omnibuses and trams are held responsible for accidents, and are compelled to subscribe to a fund, the former paying 1*s*, and the latter 6*d* per week. This fund relieves the men of two-thirds of any claim up to £10, the remaining third being borne by the driver. If the amount is over £10* the company bears the loss, and the man is usually discharged. The plan is not satisfactory to the conductors, who contend that the 6*d* a week is an imposition, as nothing they do can either cause or avert an accident. These funds are very unpopular.

Health.—The exposure to the weather is great, particularly for the drivers of omnibuses; but conductors, also, and the tramcar men are greatly affected by dust and rain and wind, by heat and cold. Nevertheless, as with most outdoor trades, the health of the men is fairly good. Drivers suffer chiefly from bronchitis, fistula, and rheumatism; conductors, in addition to rheumatism, are troubled

* This sum is in most cases the legal limit of claims.

with varicose veins. Amongst all the men drinking prevails to a large extent, and the habit is no doubt very injurious. It is hardly to be expected that no drink should be taken, and, accordingly, it is rarely that we hear of a total abstainer in this trade. The men are conscious that the frequent and continual use of alcohol as a stimulant brings on various evils, and is the cause of many breakdowns in health, but plead the force of custom, and the invitations to drink from passengers who, in this, and in no other way, make a friendly return for the civilities of the road. Men rarely grow old in this service—they are usually incapacitated at fifty-five.

Organization.—The union, which was established at the time of the strike in 1891, and which was constituted as a national union, has now practically ceased to exist in London. It was a mushroom growth, and the one small branch that alone seems to be left of it is of no importance in the present relations between the employers and the men. It may thus be fairly said that the London omnibus and tram men have no real organization at the present time.

Wages Statistics.

Of the 45,045 adult men belonging in all to this section, cabmen form a large proportion, and not being wage earners, it is impossible to obtain statistics representing the whole group. Concerning the other occupations several returns have been received, but only three of these are in such a form as to be available here. These firms—two omnibus companies and a job-master—employ 1907 persons, of whom 1877 are men. To these have been added particulars respecting 102 men taken from returns made in other sections. The earnings of these men are as follows :—

Under 20*s*	4, or —	per cent.	} Under 30*s*, 26½ per cent.
20*s* and under 25*s* ...	77 ,, 4	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s* ...	441 ,, 22½	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s* ...	334 ,, 16	,,	} 30*s* and over, 73½ per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s* ...	387 ,, 19½	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s* ...	287 ,, 15	,,	
45*s* ,, 50*s* ...	344 ,, 17½	,,	
50*s* and over	105 ,, 5½	,,	
	1979 ,, 100	,,	

Most of these men are in the omnibus service, and nearly all work seven days a week. The Board of Trade received returns from four tramway companies, employing about 1800 persons; of these detailed particulars are available of the earnings of 706 men, the figures being as follows:—

Under 20*s*.....	42, or	6	per cent.	} Under 30*s*, 44 per cent.
20*s* and under 25*s* ...	78 ,,	11	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s* ...	194 ,,	27	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s* ...	276 ,,	39	,,	} 30*s* and over, 56 per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s* ...	60 ,,	9	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s* ...	38 ,,	5	,,	
45*s* ,, 50*s* ...	13 ,,	2	,,	
50*s* and over	5 ,,	1	,,	
	706 ,,	100	,,	

It will be noticed that the rates are much lower than those paid by the omnibus companies. Here, too, seven days are usually reckoned as the week.

As compared with the artisan classes, a noticeable feature here is the regularity of employment. Thus the four tramway companies employed 1849 men when busy as against 1763 in a slack week, or a reduction of only 4½ per cent., whilst the earnings were 6½ per cent. less, or a combined reduction of little more than 10 per cent. Similar figures are not available respecting the omnibus service. The conditions, however, are alike, and although the amounts earned would be greater, the range of difference between the earnings in busy and slack weeks would probably resemble that of the tramway men.

But few lads are employed and fewer women. The lads returned range from 15*s* to 5*s* a week, 10*s* a week being the ordinary wage.

Social Condition.

32,506 of the 45,045 adult men employed come under the social classification as heads of families. The statistics of wages only referring to a section of the men, it would be misleading to compare them with the social condition of these families as indicated by the rooms occupied. A table giving the room classification is, however, subjoined, and shows a larger proportion of crowding than the conditions found to exist in other occupations would lead one to expect, considering the number of men who must have fairly constant work. It is, however, partly explained by the fact, already noted, that private coachmen, amongst whom rather large families abound, often live in close quarters over the stables of their employers; and, beyond this, a comparison of the figures seems to bear out what will probably have already been gathered from the general tenor of this chapter—viz., that omnibus and tram men (to whom our wages statistics mainly refer) are in somewhat better circumstances than the cabmen, stablemen and others whom the section also embraces :—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Cab, Omnibus and Tram Service).

3 or more persons to a room	25,650, or 19 per cent.	Crowded 48 %	
2 and under 3 ,,	40,200 ,, 29 ,,		
1 ,, 2 ,,	45,450 ,, 33 ,,	Not crowded 52 %	
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to 1 servant	26,300 ,, 19 ,,		
	137,600 ,, 100 ,,		
Employers' families and servants	6,600		
Total population	144,200		

CHAPTER II.

CARMEN. (*Section* 62.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Carman	124	8638	32,389	2150	43,801

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	25,202		Heads of Families 25,248.
	Females	46		
Birthplace	In London	57 %	14,443	
	Out of London..	43 %	10,805	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	3 %	816	
	Employed.....	95 %	23,870	
	Neither	2 %	562	

The age curve for this section shows a great deficiency amongst the old. (*See* diagram.)

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Tota
Total	25,248	20,813	70,968	230	1172
Average in family..	1	·82	2·81	·1	4·6

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
10,480	9860	8519	14,942	43,801

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	31,632	27·0
2 & under 3 ,,	34,273	29·3
1 & under 2 ,,	30,879	26·3
Less than 1 ,,	19,945	17·0
More than 4 rooms		
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	218	·2
All others with 2 or more servants ..	82	·0
Servants	230	·2
	117,259	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	62 %	50 %	56 %
Not ,, ..	38 %	50 %	44 %

DISTRIBUTION.

East ..	Inner 22713 / Outer 3903	26,6
North	Inner 5723 / Outer 19755	25,4
West..	Inner 2630 / Outer 13170	15,8
Central	Inner 7352	7
South-East	Inner 6841 / Outer 12151	18,9
South-West	Inner 13137 / Outer 9884	23,
		117

Inner 58,396, or 50 %
Outer 58,863, or 50 %

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

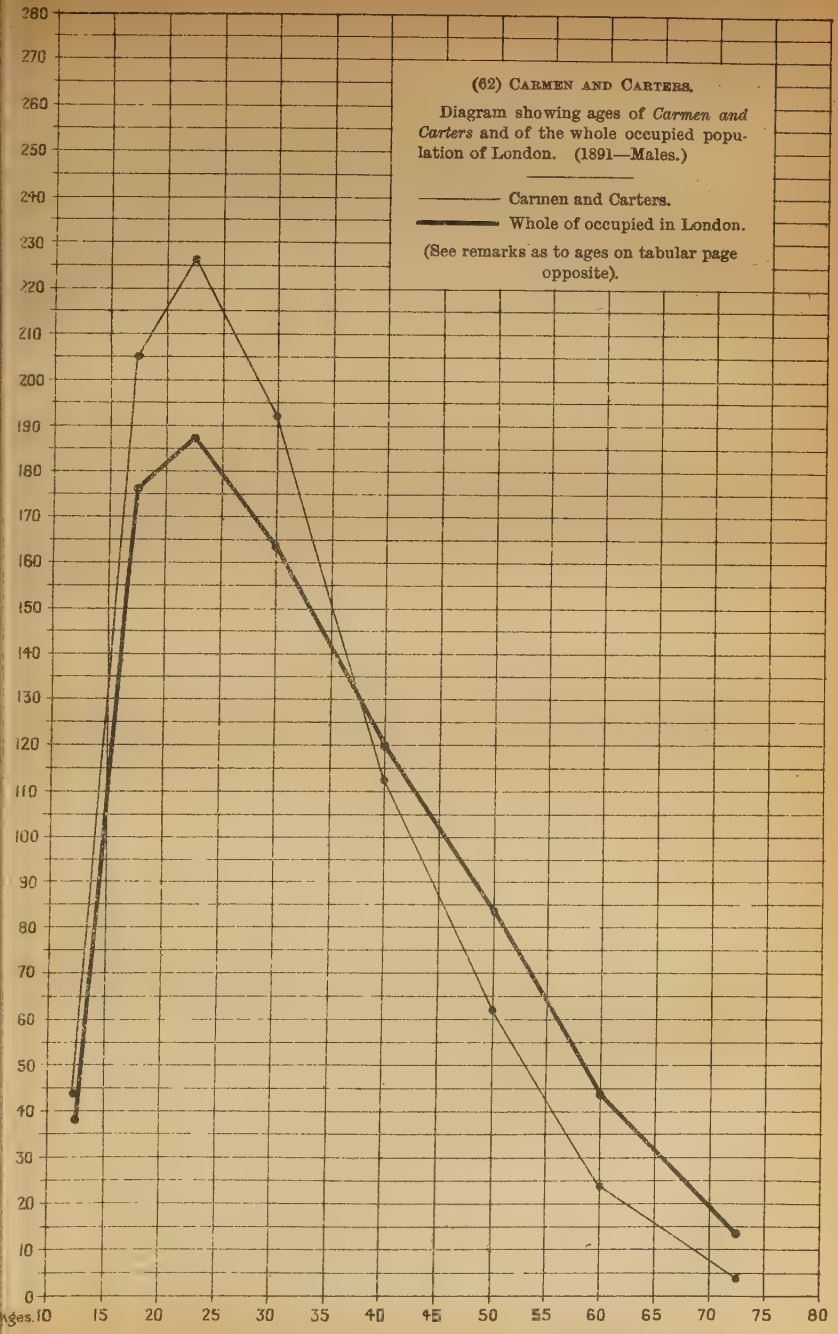
Carrier, haulier, drayman, car washer, driver, coal carman, furniture or goods remover, mail cart or post cart driver, parcels delivery and booking office service (not railway), railway carrier, railway parcel agent, tranter, trollyman, van guard; van, cart, truck proprietor or driver; water-cart driver.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed. Males.		Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
Carman, Carrier, Carter, Haulier	842	43	8638	33,519	76	678	5	43,8
TOTAL.....	885		42,233			683		

Note.—The employers of the men here returned are mostly in other sections—such as coal mercha brewers, and shopkeepers of various kinds.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Carmen, Carters, Van Boys, &c.

The 43,801 persons included in this section are all employed in driving or taking charge of vehicles which carry merchandise, and are distinguished in this way from those in the previous section who drive or take charge of vehicles conveying passengers. With each trade there are connected a certain number of men who see to the horses and remain at the stables, but most of these are returned in the census under the heading "Cabman, Coachman, Groom, &c." A large proportion of the carmen attend to their own horses.

The vans driven and attended to by these men include an immense variety of vehicles, ranging from the iron trolly used to move heavy pieces of machinery and drawn by six or even eight horses, to the little spring cart and pony which is but one remove from a costermonger's barrow. They include also a vast number of tradesmen's hooded carts and those mere boxes on wheels which are used when speed is the principal object, as in the distribution of letters and newspapers.

With heavy traffic the pay and position of the driver primarily depend on whether he drives one horse or two. Beyond this the conditions of employment depend mainly on whether the employing firm has few or many carts.

The railways and railway carriers are the principal employers for heavy work; the Post-office (or contractors working for the Post-office), Messrs. W. H. Smith and Son, and certain great shops are the largest owners of light vans; while such carriers as Messrs. Carter Paterson and Co., do both light and heavy work. But all of these or such as these, added together, represent only a fraction of the trade, the great bulk of which consists in the handling of vans and carts belonging to a multitude of business men in every part of London. Some trades

require carts of a peculiar shape, as for example those used by brewers, specially suited to the carriage of barrels, or for the transport of the light mass of reeking "grains"; or again such as the hearse-like vehicles arranged to carry pianos. In other cases, as for instance with dealers in furniture or ironmongery, the goods to be moved are not packed, or hardly packed, and special carts and men are required to effect the delivery safely. Beyond this, even with those whose goods might be equally well carried by a parcel's delivery company, an advantage is found in the value of the van as a moving advertisement; and finally, if other considerations are nearly balanced, a tradesman likes to have his own cart and horse and his own man, for it is convenient in a hundred ways, besides being a source of pleasure at times on Sundays and holidays.

In many a small business, as for instance in the bottling trade, the man in charge of horse and cart does much more than drive. He is probably employed to obtain orders and collect empties, and is paid, at any rate in part, by a commission on the business he brings. In others the man, besides attending entirely to the stables, washing the trap and grooming the horse, may act also as porter and at times serve in the shop as well. The man who drives a milk cart sells the milk, and bakers', butchers', and grocers' men all take orders from the houses they serve. Many of these will no doubt be returned, not as carmen or drivers, but as tradesmen—milk-sellers, bakers or what not; but others may appear in this section, and in any case their position as to wages and hours must harmonize with, and affect the wages of, those whose employment is identified with the driving of a van irrespective of the particular trade in which it is at work.

Men in private employments such as these are not the material of which trade unions are made. Their difficulties or grievances are not of a character to be touched success-

fully by united action. Their employment is constant; their pay is ruled by the general standard of remuneration, and as such will undoubtedly be a "living wage"; while their comfort depends mainly on the personal relations between themselves and their employers. Competition as to rates of wages is practically absent. It is probable that the hours are long, and in some cases very long, but as a rule the work is not exhausting, nor such as to divorce the men from home life.

In proportion to the size of the business, and the number of carts, horses, and men employed, the personal element becomes less and the general conditions usually more stringent. The difference between "good" and "bad" employment in large undertakings is very marked, and the possibilities of combination amongst the men are fortunately proportioned to their necessity. If by united action the worst among the large employers can be lifted up to or near to the level of the best, the small ones may be safely left to the action of general economic laws.

Hours of Work.—The main grievance in this trade concerns the length of the working day. There is no doubt that very long hours prevail. A week's work, inclusive of time occupied in the stable, will average from ninety-six to one hundred hours. No overtime is paid in any systematic way, but 1*s* may be allowed for an extra load. If, for instance, a man is ordered out at 3 A.M. in place of 6 A.M. he will usually get 1*s* or 1*s* 3*d* extra; and for starting at midnight and working on through the day an additional 2*s* may be paid; but some employers do not give as much as this. On Sunday the horses have to be attended to. The vans are usually out all day, and every day during the week, except when laid up for repairs, or unless trade be very slack. The work, however, is seldom strenuous, and always involves more or less waiting. These intervals, which may be between jobs or when waiting in turn for a load, are of uncertain duration, from a few

minutes to one or two hours. One informant says that about three hours is the average time occupied in "standing," and that this includes meal times, for which no regular provision is made. At times a man may "put the nose-bag on his horse" and go to sleep himself, but such occasions are said to be rare, so that on the whole the hours occupied are hours of work. The horses work the same length of time as the men. There is no change of team. This in itself would seem to be some guarantee that the number of hours of standing must be a considerable proportion of the whole. Except with the railway companies, and a few of the large contractors, the men have to clean and water their horses. Horse-keepers are employed to feed them.

Wages.—For such long hours as prevail, the pay is low. There is perhaps no man's employment which yields so small a return per hour. To drive a cart demands but little skill, nor any exceptional intelligence, and there is nothing like the physical exhaustion which puts a natural limit to hours of work in many trades. Moreover, the hours in which goods are moved by road extend almost necessarily early and late, preceding or following the work of others. For one-horse vans men's wages vary from 18*s* to 24*s*, and boys are often employed at lower rates. Some of the heaviest work is paid no more than 18*s*. For two-horse vans the pay varies from 22*s* to 26*s* with a few at 28*s*. For three or four horses no particular difference is made; 30*s* per week is the maximum rate, and few employers pay as much. As a rule the small firms treat the men better than the large ones, both in wages and general conditions. But this is not always so, and notably this rule does not apply to the railway companies, who with one exception appear to act more liberally than the contractors or ordinary master carmen. The wages of the railway carmen are about as stated, 24*s* a week; the men have, however, certain advantages. The hours are not quite so long (though still they average about fourteen per day); and the

men do not clean their horses. In many cases they are provided with overcoats, caps, and knee aprons, these things having been conceded since the trades union was formed.

The union demands as a minimum standard wage 28*s* for the driver of one horse, 30*s* for two horses, and 32*s* for three, for a week of sixty hours; also that overtime shall be paid at 9*d* an hour; that eight hours shall constitute a night's work, and that attendance in the stable on Sunday when required shall not exceed one hour. As has been seen, they are far from having succeeded in impressing these terms on the trade.

The greatest discontent is felt regarding the pay and treatment of the men who drive the Post-office mail carts. This work is undertaken by contract, and the wages paid range from 18*s* to 22*s*, the lower rate being for one-horse carts. As many as eighteen hours are sometimes worked with two horses, for 3*s* 8*d*, and fourteen to sixteen hours with one horse for 3*s*. If called out at 3 A.M. in place of 5 A.M., the men only get 5*d* additional for the two hours' work. The system of fines, chiefly for delays on journeys, caused perhaps by the crowded state of the streets, is considered oppressive. The average hours in the week will be about ninety to one hundred. Since the agitation raised by the union against these terms and the present system generally, the contractors have in some cases increased the wages from 1*s* to 2*s* per week, but they have all the more stringently opposed the men joining the union, to which the large employers generally are antagonistic. Long as these hours are, and small as is the remuneration, there are plenty of applicants for the work. The character of the so-called "privileges" enjoyed by the casual men shows this very well. They have to "book on" at 2 A.M., and if not employed sooner must stand by till 8 A.M. for any chance. They may then go away till 5 P.M., when again from 5 to 7 there may be an opportunity of getting work. For this waiting,

whether employed or not, they are paid 1*s*. When employed for short spells, their wages would not be more than 4*d* an hour.

Taking the whole trade, a large number of the men have only casual employment. Their wages are nominally the same, but their poverty doubtless has some effect in depressing the rates offered. These odd men as a rule can drive a cab or even a 'bus, if they have the chance, and they get jobs in these and other similar ways. Of men of this class there is always a surplus in London. Even in the busiest periods, such as Christmas time, there is never any difficulty in obtaining extra men.

Boys are employed as van-guards. Their sole duty is to watch the vans and their contents, for fear of theft. Their wages are from 5*s* to 6*s*, and they work the same hours as the men, excepting that they have no duties in the stable. Many vans do not have boys attached to them, but on the other hand, as has been mentioned, many lads are employed as drivers, receiving perhaps 12*s* a week, and this practice is a cause of complaint with the men.

At one time tips were almost a system, but are no longer usual, excepting perhaps with the men engaged in parcels delivery, who may still substantially augment their wages in this way. Drink is given more often than money, and what money is received most frequently goes to the public-house. It is admitted that carmen are largely addicted to strong drink, but it is not supposed that it plays any considerable part in their sickness and mortality. The men suffer from rheumatism and bronchitis, and such illnesses are the more prevalent and dangerous, as on the whole the men are ill provided with warm clothes, presenting in this respect a striking contrast to cab and 'busmen. Old bags are a common makeshift for an overcoat. The railway companies and large private firms almost invariably supply aprons or rugs, but in many cases the men have to find their own, and then they are usually not provided at

all. Some firms even refuse to provide cloths for the horses, on the ground that, if they did, the men would use them !

If not incapacitated by actual illness or removed by death, men may continue long at this work. Men of seventy years of age can be found driving vans, and they have been known to work to within a few days of death. With carmen there is no such thing as partial loss of capacity affecting wages, but at sixty a man would find difficulty in getting a job if thrown out of work.

There is at present no licence required for carmen. The union would favour a compulsory licence like that for cabs and omnibuses, and assert that it is needed in the interest of safe driving, as many incompetent men and boys are entrusted with vans and horses. The main object from the union point of view is to raise the character of the employment and limit indirectly, if not directly, the numbers who seek a living in it.

The proportion of those born out of London is not so great amongst carmen as has been supposed—being, according to our returns, only 43 per cent. of the heads of families. The influx of countrymen has, however, been much felt, and it is possible that the pick of the work falls to these men. The main difficulty in the way of non-Londoners is their lack of experience of the London streets, both geographically and as to the nerve needed, but in these respects a young countryman soon learns, and in other ways the work is very natural and easy to him.

Organization.

The first effort to organize carmen was made about 1870-1, when it was also attempted to start a co-operative scheme, but neither movement made any great impression amongst the men. The London Carmen's Trades Union was formed in 1888, and had but a weakly existence with not more than about fifty members, until the dock strike of

1889, when the membership rose by leaps and bounds to five thousand, and even reached twelve thousand at the time of the Hay's Wharf strike. The dockers issued a manifesto declaring that they would not load for non-union men, which caused a rush into the union, but its withdrawal caused large numbers to leave. There are now about five thousand carmen in this union, whereas it is estimated that there are from thirty thousand to forty thousand men connected with the trade in London.

The entrance fee to the London Carmen's Trade Union is 1*s*, and the contributions 2*d* per week. For this sum no provident benefits are given, but there is a death payment of £10, which can be had for an additional 2*d* per month. Payment to this fund is optional, though most of the members contribute to it. The trade benefits comprise recovery of compensation and wages, and resistance to fines and illegal pressure. They are all more or less included under the term "Legal Aid." As in all vehicular industries, the men are constantly subject to accidents, both to life and property, and the Carmen's Union is particularly successful in dealing with cases of this kind. As much as £350 has been obtained for relatives in case of death, and £175 for injuries. Nothing is deducted from the damages awarded, all legal expenses being met by the union.

In addition to this union, carmen are to be found in the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the General Railway Workers' Union, and the National Vehicular Union ('busmen), but the number in any and all of these is but trifling.

Wages Statistics.

In the 1891 census 33,519 adult men were returned as employees in this section. Respecting their earnings,

information has been received from nineteen firms employing 1064 men and boys of this class. Only five of the returns are from carmen and contractors, the others being from firms using a large number of vehicles to distribute their goods. To these are added particulars of the earnings of 155 men and boys from other returns, making a total of 1219 persons of whom we have details. Of these, 1112 are adult men, and their earnings are as under :—

Below 20*s*.....	42, or	4 per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*.....279	,, 25	,,	Under 30*s*, 64 per cent.
25*s* ,, 30*s*.....390	,, 35	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*.....185	,, 17	,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*..... 80	,, 7	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*..... 79	,, 7	,,	30*s* and over, 36 per cent.
45*s* ,, 50*s*..... 25	,, 2	,,	
50*s* and upwards... 32	,, 3	,,	
1112	,, 100	,,	

The Board of Trade obtained returns which refer exclusively to the most poorly paid section of the men, viz., general carriers. Eight firms gave particulars of 2367 employed persons, of whom 1199 adult men belong to the section, and of these 94 per cent. earn under 30*s*. With this result our returns agree; as, of the men employed by the few firms of carmen who made returns to us, 90 per cent. earn less than 30*s*. Carmen seldom exceed this amount; the 36 per cent. shown in our returns as earning more than 30*s* are draymen or others who receive a commission in addition to wages, or else are men who have to maintain a better appearance and sometimes take orders, for which employers are willing to pay a higher wage. Thus the two sets of returns represent two almost distinct classes of men, and this being the case we shall, by combining them, get a more accurate representation of the whole section. The earnings of 2311 men may then be stated as follows :—

Below 20*s*.....	72	or 3	per cent.	Under 30*s*, 79½ per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*.....1322	,, 57	,,		
25*s* ,, 30*s*..... 449	,, 19½	,,		
30*s* ,, 35*s*..... 249	,, 11	,,		30*s* and over, 20½ per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s*..... 83	,, 3½	,,		
40*s* ,, 45*s*..... 79	,, 3½	,,		
45*s* and upwards... 57	,, 2½	,,		
2311	,, 100	,,		

Regularity of employment compensates in a manner for the low level of wages in these occupations; the earnings of the more highly paid men fluctuate considerably, while those of the men at the lower rates are fairly steady. Thus, comparing a slack with a busy week, the Board of Trade returns show a decrease of 14 per cent. in numbers and 2½ per cent. in earnings, or 10½ per cent. in all, amongst general carriers, whilst with brewer's draymen the decrease is 3½ per cent. in numbers and 17 per cent. in earnings, or a total reduction of 20 per cent.

The earnings of the lads and boys, most of whom are van-guards, range from 5*s* to 16*s* a week, the usual amount being 8*s*. Our returns give particulars of 107, of whom 50 earn 8*s* a week.

Social Condition.

Of the 33,519 adult men employed in these trades, about 23,850 are heads of families and re-appear in the family enumeration. Comparing the earnings as indicated in the combined return with the scale of social condition, we have 61 per cent. earning under 25*s* a week compared with 58 per cent. living in a more or less crowded condition; 29½ per cent. earning from 25*s* to 35*s* compared with 27½ per cent. living one and less than two persons to a room and 9½ per cent. earning over 35*s* compared with 14½ per cent. of the central classes. Thus stated the correspondence is fairly close:—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Carmen, &c.).

Earnings as returned.			*Classification of Population.*		
Below 20*s*...	72, or 3	per cent.	3 or more in each room,	31,600, or 28	per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*...	1322 ,, 57	,,	2 to 3 ,,	34,250 ,, 30	,,
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	449 ,, 19½	,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	30,900 ,, 27½	,,
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	249 ,, 11	,,	Less than 1 ,,		
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	83 ,, 3½	,,	More than 4 rooms	16,250 ,, 14½	,,
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	79 ,, 3½	,,	4 or more persons to a servant		
45*s* and upwards	57 ,, 2½	,,			
	2311 ,, 100	,,		113,000 ,, 100	,,
			Employers' families and servants.	4250	
				117,250	

CHAPTER III.

RAILWAY SERVICE AND RAILWAY LABOUR.

RAILWAY SERVICE. (*Section* 63.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Officials & Clerks	45	993	4629	432	6099
Porters & Servants	111	1770	10,354	838	13,073
Engine Driver & Stoker	—	309	2785	142	3236
Railway Guard ..	—	—	1573	98	1671
Pointsman, &c. ..	1	50	590	34	675
TOTAL . ..	157	3122	19,931	1544	24,754

We have here the work of young men for the most part—as the diagram shows.

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
2662	7884	4669	9539	24,754

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Canvasser, carriage inspector, horse, locomotive or carriage superintendent, goods manager, station master.
(2) Boiler cleaner, bridge keeper, buffer boy, caller off, gasman, hoistman, labeller, railway police, wheel tapper, signalman.
(3) Railway fireman, pilot, engine cleaner.
(4) Switchman, shunter, flagman, gateman.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		15,311	Heads of Families 15,357.
	Females		46	
Birthplace	In London .. .	31 %	4772	
	Out of London ..	69 %	10,585	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	—	32	
	Employed	100 %	15,297	
	Neither	—	28	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	To
Total	15,357	13,161	41,976	518	71
Average in family ..	1	·86	2·73	·3	4

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	5882	8·3
2 & under 3 ,,	13,830	19·5
1 & under 2 ,,	24,040	33·9
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	26,059	36·8
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	534	7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	149	·1
Servants	518	·7
	71,012	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	43 %	24 %	28 %
Not ,, ..	57 %	76 %	72 %

DISTRIBUTION.

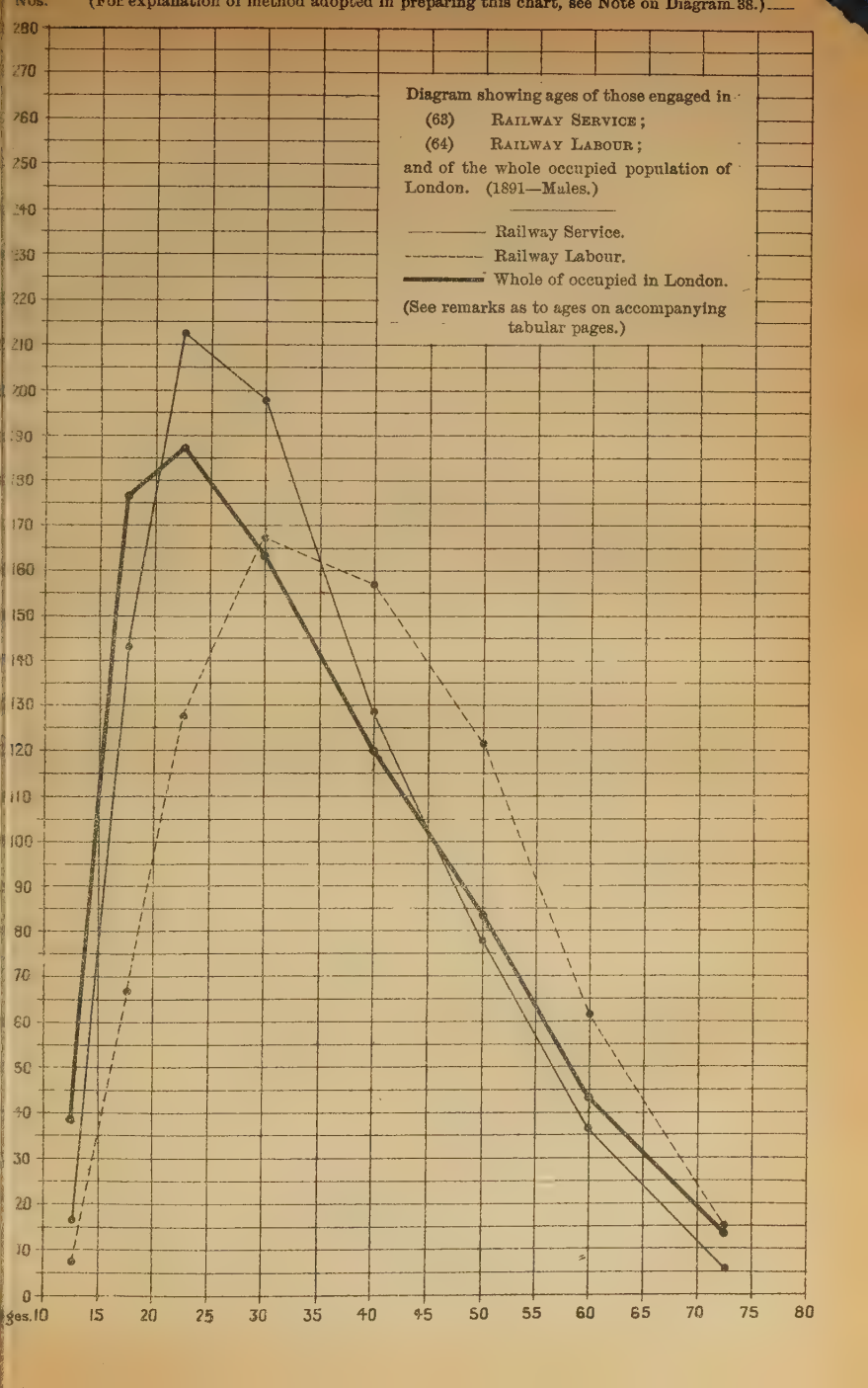
East	Inner	3787	
	Outer	3827	
North	Inner	2459	21
	Outer	19,538	
West	Inner	846	11
	Outer	10,746	
Central Inner		1262	
South-East	Inner	2207	11
	Outer	9702	
South-West	Inner	2872	10
	Outer	13,766	
			71

Inner 13,433, or 19 %
Outer 57,579, or 81 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

This section consisting almost entirely of the employed class, the cen does not specify the industrial status of those returned.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



RAILWAY LABOUR. (*Section* 64.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

ivision,	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Labour	—	205	2828	464	3497

k is mainly done by men from 30 s of age—the numbers after 50 fall v fast. (*See* diagram.)

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
923	649	1521	3497

Details of Occupations om the Census Dictionary).

r, navvy, permanent way man, vator, skipper, ganger, underground urer, railway miner, hitcher, surface-, tunnel miner, bank rider (railway), er, land miner.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		2563	Heads of Families, 2567.
	Females		4	
Birthplace	In London	22%	553	
	Out of London	78%	2014	
Industrial Status	Employer	2%	50	
	Employed	97%	2490	
	Neither	1%	27	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	2567	2386	6810	53	11,816
Average in family ..	1	·93	2·65	·2	4·60

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1429	12·1
2 & under 3 ,,	3545	30·0
1 & under 2 ,,	3848	32·7
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	2883	24·4
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	27	·2
All others with 2 or more servants ..	31	·2
Servants	53	·4
	11,816	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	52%	40%	42%
Not ,, ..	48%	60%	58%

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 511, Outer 664	1175
North	Inner 303, Outer 2745	3048
West ..	Inner 26, Outer 2133	2159
Central	Inner 303	303
South-East	Inner 240, Outer 1826	2066
South-West	Inner 547, Outer 2518	3065
		11,816

Inner 1930, or 16 %
Outer 9886, or 84 %

Status as to Employment (*according to Census Enumeration*).

with Railway Service, those here returned are nearly all of the yed class, and therefore no attempt is made in the census to tely state such employers as may be included.

Railway Work.

There are three great departments in railway work, namely, locomotive (engine drivers, firemen and cleaners), traffic (guards, signalmen, porters and others of the station staff or employed in the warehouses), and engineering (platelayers and all connected with the care of the permanent way). Our table of persons representing "railway service" includes the first two of these departments, whilst the third is covered by the other table (railway labour), comprising such men as navvies, who work at the construction of railways and are usually the servants of some contractor. All these together count up to about 22,000 persons, of whom almost all are males and most are adults. In addition, there are 6000 persons returned as belonging to the official staff.

Nearly all these have regular employment. Casual labour is almost confined to the goods warehouses, except, perhaps, to a small extent, during holiday times, amongst the porters at the largest stations, and it bears too small a proportion to the whole to be an element of any importance in considering railway labour. It is not that the work does not fluctuate in amount, but that the companies prefer to meet the press when it arises by overtime. Thus railway servants have regular work, and overtime becomes systematic.

Hours and Earnings.—Excepting for the underground railway work, the standard time is as follows:—

Engine drivers and firemen	10	hours.	No meal-times.*
Passenger guards	10, 11 and 12	,,	,, ,,
Goods guards	11	,,	,, ,,
Signalmen	8, 10 and 12	,,	,, ,,
Shunters	8, 10 and 12	,,	Inclusive of irregular meal-times.
Porters	12	,,	do. do.
Platelayers	Average 9	,,	Exclusive of meal-times.

* By this it is not meant that the men do not find time to eat their meals,

On the Metropolitan and District Railways signalmen have generally an eight-hour day, and guards, drivers and firemen are usually on duty not more than 8½ hours, while porters, ticket examiners and the platform staff, generally work 9½ to 10 hours daily.

A Parliamentary return, issued in 1892, and showing, for certain classes of railway servants, the number who were, on one or more occasions during the month of December, 1891, on duty for more than twelve hours at a time, gives some idea of the frequency with which the standard hours are exceeded. The return includes thirteen railway companies which have termini in London, and, combining the statements sent in by each of these, we have the subjoined results :—

Class of Servant.	Total No. employed.	No. on duty on any occasion for more than 12 hours.	Percentage of total No. employed.	Average No. of occasions per man.
Passenger traffic :—				
Guards and brakesmen ...	3439	2088	61	5
Engine drivers and firemen	7308	5479	73	4
Goods traffic :—				
Guards and brakesmen ...	6556	4927	75	6
Engine drivers and firemen	16,125	14,412	89	6
Signalmen.....	11,901	4349	36½	4
Examiners.....	1385	224	17	2

The proportion of men doing extra duty varies considerably on the different lines. Of the passenger guards and brakesmen, the proportion working the additional time was on the London and Brighton line 90 per cent., on the Midland 85 per cent., and on the London, Chatham and Dover 78 per cent.; and of passenger engine drivers and firemen 94 per cent. on the London and Brighton, 92 per cent. on the London, Chatham and Dover, and 89 per cent.

but that they have no set time off duty for the purpose. Their work is not strictly continuous, but the meal must either await its opportunity or, if hunger presses, be snatched in hasty mouthfuls.

on the South-Eastern. Of goods guards, engine drivers, and firemen, 98 per cent. put in the extra hours on the London, Chatham and Dover, and six other companies return more than 90 per cent. as having done so. The proportion of examiners working above twelve hours is generally quite small, and amongst signalmen is only large on the North London (97 per cent.) and the Midland (85 per cent.). On the former line this is stated to be quite an exceptional state of things, caused by ten days of dense fog, which necessitated the use of flag and fog signals at every point, in addition to the ordinary methods of signalling. The explanation of the Midland Company in regard to the signalmen working more than twelve hours at a stretch is that on Sundays the men prefer to work thirteen or fourteen hours on night duty, and ten or eleven hours only on day duty, instead of two even spells of twelve hours. In most instances the period of duty above twelve hours is one of thirteen or fourteen hours, but in several cases it reached eighteen hours and even longer. The smallest returns of extra duty performed are from the Metropolitan and District Railway Companies, very few of whose men worked more than twelve hours on any occasion.

A week of six days, and increased remuneration for any Sunday work, is the rule in almost all industries except those connected with traffic. With railways, the rule of a seven-day week has, through persistent agitation on the part of the unions, been considerably curtailed. On the London and North-Western only the platform staff are now rated for seven days. They do not work every Sunday, nor all of that day, but the week's wages include as much Sunday work as is necessary. On the Midland all the passenger department, except guards and shunters, are rated in this way. The same rule applies to all grades in the traffic department, except signalmen and goods guards, on the London and Brighton line. On the Great

Eastern the booking clerks, platform inspectors, foremen porters, ticket collectors, porters, carmen, and horse-keepers are on the same basis, but are allowed one day off in each alternate week, and are paid extra if they work then. On the District Railway an extra payment for Sunday work has lately been conceded, and on the Metropolitan line a similar practice prevails. Generally speaking, it is the platform staff who are still rated at seven days.

When the week consists of six days, the remuneration for Sunday work varies for different grades, and with different companies, from the ordinary rate as paid on any other day to "time and a half," *i.e.* 50 per cent. more.

The men in the traffic department are generally granted an annual holiday of three or four days with pay, but not so those in the locomotive department, who are allowed, as a rule, to take a short holiday, but receive no payment for the time thus occupied.

Engine drivers are the best paid class of railway servants. Though rated by the day, and thus not ensured full work, they as a rule obtain continuous employment. Their ordinary wage on the principal lines usually equals 40*s* or 45*s* a week, but in some instances is only 30*s*, whilst in others it rises to 50*s*, and exceptionally to 55*s* and even 60*s*. This is generally for a week of sixty hours; but overtime, paid for at the rate of time and a quarter, is very frequent, returns before us showing that it is quite a common thing for drivers on some lines to work seventy-five or eighty hours and receive actual earnings of 55*s* to 60*s*; whilst, in extreme instances, thirty, thirty-five, and forty hours of overtime are made in a week, with a corresponding increase of pay to a maximum of 75*s*. Firemen's regular wages are mainly from 20*s* to 25*s*, but by means of overtime (also paid at time and a quarter rate), they often add 5*s* to 10*s* to their weekly earnings. Cleaners, who are mostly youths, get 12*s* to 15*s*, which may be increased to 18*s*, 20*s*, and sometimes more, by extra time, the hours

worked frequently being abnormally prolonged. In the coaching department, foremen get from 20*s* to 35*s*, but mostly 25*s*; porters, 15*s* to 25*s*, the bulk of them not exceeding 20*s*; guards, 20*s* to (in rare instances) 40*s*, but usually not more than 30*s*; ticket collectors and signalmen, generally 20*s* to 30*s*, with an average of 23*s* to 25*s*. All the men in this department are provided with uniform, and nearly all get extra remuneration in some form. With signalmen, overtime is frequent in foggy weather, paid for at ordinary rates after eight or ten hours in most London boxes, and they usually receive bonuses, varying from £2. 10*s* to £10 per annum, for good conduct and strict attention to their duties. While overtime for guards is not recognized on certain railways, other companies pay for it at ordinary rates after a twelve hours' day. Guards, like porters and ticket collectors, receive tips from passengers, varying, of course, greatly in amount, and not sufficiently certain or ascertainable to be set down in figures. But in the goods department, where wages are, if anything, lower, there are seldom, if ever, such additions to earnings, and, beyond uniform for some of the men, there are only the bare wages of 15*s* to 30*s* for checkers and shunters (the most customary rate being from 20*s* to 25*s*), and of 15*s* to 25*s* (with a minimum of 12*s* and a maximum of 30*s*) for porters and carmen. Considering the heavy nature of the work, and that much of it has to be performed at night or in the quite early hours of the morning, the rate of wages paid to the men in the goods department of railways (often only 16*s* to 18*s* for sixty hours' work) seems quite inadequate. Many of them are married men.

The general opinion of railway men is that when the great difference in rent is taken into consideration, the wages paid in London are rarely so good as those obtainable in the provinces. In some grades on certain railways no distinction is made, while the rate for a section of the least skilled men is actually lower in London than in the

Midlands and the North. The following examples may be given from the Great Eastern Railway:—Booking clerks are paid 21*s* a week in both town and country. Ticket collectors, who receive 19*s* to 21*s* in the country, are paid 2*s* more in London. Lamp-men and gate-men also receive 2*s* more, and with porters, both for goods and passengers, the difference seems to be only 1*s*, while greasers and horsemen are not paid any more in London than in the country. With signalmen only, the advantage amounts to 3*s* or 4*s*, and this is probably due to the severer and more responsible character of the work, with the greater frequency of trains passing. When we remember that in the Eastern Counties country wages are low, it is unlikely that instances drawn from other railways would show a comparison any more favourable to the Londoner.

Training and Experience.—There is nothing approaching the apprenticeship system in railways, though considerable training and experience are necessary, and are made a condition of promotion. In the locomotive department the first step is that of cleaner, the next being that of fireman, and then on to driver. There are no specified periods of servitude in the different stages, but a young man generally attains his majority before he begins firing, and he then must become a "passed" fireman before he takes hold of the regulator as a driver. It is often not until thirty years of age, and at times much later in life, that the fireman obtains promotion. He is then generally given charge of a shunting engine, afterwards he may be allowed to drive first a slow and then a fast goods train, and so on till he is fit to take charge of a suburban passenger train, and finally undertakes the care of a crack main line express. This order is not always strictly followed, but it represents the degrees of skill or self-possession required of a driver. Passenger guards are usually recruited from porters, while goods guards come from shunters and greasers.

Signalmen are selected chiefly from porters and shunters, though in some cases they are placed in boxes without passing through other stages, serving some time as assistant signalmen or learners. It requires peculiar aptitude to make a successful signalman, though their wages in the London district range from as low as 23*s* up to, with few exceptions, not more than about 33*s* at the highest. Most of those in the employ of the railway companies came into it as youths, and pass through the various steps as indicated.

The service is chiefly recruited from the provinces. On all the great trunk lines the metropolitan termini are held out as the "plums" of promotion, and the bulk of the men are drafted from the country. The London and Chatham and the Metropolitan, District, North London, and the small East London Companies may have a little larger percentage of London men, but it is probably safe to say that of the other lines over 75 per cent. of the total number are from the provinces. A well-informed Great Eastern signalman states that he has never known one of his own grade who was a Londoner, while one of the most skilled South-Eastern express drivers puts the proportion of provincial men of all grades in that line as 95 per cent. In the goods warehouses there may be a little greater proportion of London men. These surmises are fairly supported by the total percentage born out of London, as shown in our table of "persons represented."

Health and Accidents.—The general health of railway workers is good, and, if not incapacitated by injury, the men live and work to an advanced age. Accidents are, however, in spite of all legislative enactment, still very numerous. A Government return for 1894 shows that in the United Kingdom during that year one railway servant out of every 796 was killed, and one in 140 injured. For certain classes of work the figures are startling, as for example :—

	Killed.	Injured.
Shunters	1 in 156	1 in 15.
Brakesmen and goods guards	1 „ 223	1 „ 21.
Firemen	1 „ 510	1 „ 37.
Engine drivers	1 „ 948	1 „ 58.
Guards (passenger)	1 „ 559	1 „ 70.

For London, we have no separate figures, but considering how enormous is the traffic, the proportion would not probably be less.

On entering the service of a railway company, a slight medical examination is undergone, and signalmen, engine drivers, and some others are liable to be tested at any time as to the condition of their eyesight. If this is found to be defective, they may be put to some inferior class of work at a considerable reduction of pay, but are rarely discharged altogether on this account.

Officials and Clerks.—The relations between the men and the officials vary considerably. Petty officialism—comprising men only one remove from the ranks—is responsible for much of the worst friction that arises. It is, however, not an uncommon thing for foremen to belong to the trades unions, and even a few of the inspectors are members. Speaking generally, red tape in the railway service tends to a description of semi-militarism—quite a different kind of thing from the relations which exist between an artisan and his foreman.

The clerks, neither staff nor booking, have any union or benefit society peculiar to themselves, but there are a small number of booking clerks in the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. An association was recently started in Wales exclusively for railway clerks, but it made no headway; and beyond temporary combinations to petition for some concession, they are without any distinct organization in London. As to friendly societies the same holds good, though there is a General Clerks' Provident Society, as there is also a General Clerks' Union.

Trade Organization.

The Trade Societies connected with railway work are as follows:—

Number of railway workers in London (Census, 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.	Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.			
28,251	24,767	The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (1871).	2500	Out of work, suspension, victimized, superannuation and death benefits, legal aid; orphan fund.
		General Railway Workers' Union (1889).	1000	Out of work, strike, victimized and suspension pay; legal aid.
		Associated Society of Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen (1880).	600	Strike, protection, superannuation and death benefits; legal aid.
			4100	

Thus of a total of 24,767 adult men, only 4100 are organized, or 17 per cent. If, however, the 6000 officials and clerks are excluded, they being of a different class, the proportion is increased to 22 per cent. Each of the unions is national, the total membership of the amalgamated society being over 41,000, whilst the general railway workers have 3800, and the locomotive engineers about 7600. The amalgamated society admits all men permanently employed on railways, but in practice this means those engaged in the manipulation of traffic. It is a very substantial organization, with about 460 branches, accumulated funds of more than £140,000, and an income of £35,000 a year. Although not directly recognized to any great extent by the companies, it no doubt exercises considerable influence, particularly in educating public opinion regarding the

disabilities of railway men, and in promoting legislative action on their behalf.

The entrance fee is 1*s*, and the subscription is 5*d* or 3*d* per week, the former being known as scale A and the latter scale B. Benefits are as follows:—Scale A, out of work, 12*s* per week; strike pay, 12*s* and 1*s* for each child; "victimised" pay (*i.e.* loss of employment through connection with the union), 15*s* per week or a grant of £50. Scale B, out of work, 10*s*; strike, 6*s* and 1*s* for each child, and "victimised," £25 or 10*s* per week. Suspension: 18*s* per week for Scale A and 12*s* Scale B. Legal assistance: any amount, either scale. Superannuation: Scale A, £20. Death: Scale A, £5. Orphan Fund: Scale A, 3*s* to 7*s* per week (according to number of children) until youngest child is thirteen.

The union does not lay down any definite standard of hours and wages, but affirms the desirability of an eight-hour day, while aiming wherever possible at a maximum of ten hours. The society publishes a weekly journal in advocacy of its objects.

The General Railway Workers' Union is of comparatively minor importance, and is more particularly the outcome of an attempt to organize the lower grade of railway servants on the lines of the "new unionism" of 1889. Its subscription was until recently 2*d* per week, but has now been raised to 3*d*, and it offers out-of-work or strike pay of 10*s* a week, £20 when victimized, 15*s* a week suspension, and legal aid.

The Associated Society of Engine Drivers and Firemen also admits cleaners at half benefits, and has a fund of over £40,000. The subscription is 4*d* or 1*s* a week, the smaller amount only entitling to trade protection. Benefits include superannuation pay of 5*s* to 7*s* 6*d* a week; death grant of £10 to £20; protection, £100 and 15*s* per week for twelve months; strike pay, 12*s* per week and 2*s* additional for each child; accident money, £20; sick pay, 10*s* and 6*s* per week;

and legal aid. The members have the reputation of being rather "weak" trade unionists.

Benefit Funds.—All the principal railway companies have benefit schemes of some description for their employees, but they vary considerably in detail. In some cases provision is made against accident, sickness, death, and old age, whilst in other instances only one or two of these contingencies are allowed for. These provident schemes are usually under the joint management of representatives of the directors and the men, and to all of them the companies, as well as their employees, contribute in some form—sometimes subscribing a sum equal to that of the men, sometimes only half that amount, and, in one instance, merely defraying expenses of management.

The attitude of the trade unions to these provident funds is uncompromisingly hostile. If membership is voluntary, the inducements offered are looked upon as a trap, and if compulsory are regarded as an infringement of liberty. The union men prefer to rely, in the event of disablement by illness or accident, upon the funds of an independent friendly society, claiming that a workman's savings for this purpose should not be mixed up in any way with his employment. The companies, on the other hand, point to the extent of the benefits offered, and the small payment for which they are obtainable, compared with what would be necessary if the men were left entirely to their own resources. But it is easy to see that the true issue is of an entirely different character, and one which neither side is inclined to put forward openly. The masters desire, above all things, to secure permanent service, and whatever increases the hold they have on their men tends in this direction. The unions recognise that permanent tenure of employment would be fatal to their power and influence, and they would claim that the true interests of the men are bound up with those of the union.

Wages Statistics.

Respecting the earnings of railway men, our principal evidence is that collected by the Board of Trade for the years 1886 and 1891 and recently published. In this voluminous return the companies are grouped according to the districts served. Combining the five groups that include the lines running into the metropolis, and omitting occupations not included in the census as railway work, the following table shows the proportion of men employed at different rates of pay in various classes of railway employment:—

Percentage of Railway men earning different rates of pay.

	Occupations.	Over 40*s* to 50*s*.	Over 35*s* to 40*s*.	Over 30*s* to 35*s*.	Over 25*s* to 30*s*.	Over 20*s* to 25*s*.	15*s* to 20*s*.	10*s* to 15*s*.	Total.
Coaching Dept.	Foremen	—	1½	7½	30½	52½	8	—	100
	Porters	—	—	—	½	8	91½	—	100
	Shunters	—	—	½	7½	46	46	—	100
	Passenger Guards	½	2	9	49	37	2½	—	100
	TicketCollectors&Examiners	—	—	—	4	68½	27½	—	100
	Signalmen	—	—	1½	21	61½	16	—	100
Goods Dept.	Checkers	—	—	1	22½	61½	15	—	100
	Shunters	—	—	½	21½	47½	30½	—	100
	Goods Guards & Brakesmen	—	—	35½	38½	23	3	—	100
	Porters	—	—	1	2	31	66	—	100
Loco-motive Dept.	Engine drivers	7½	60½	14	17½	½	—	—	100
	Firemen	—	—	1½	30	59½	9	—	100
	Gangers, Plate-layers, &c.	—	—	½	4	24½	71	—	100
	Labourers	—	—	—	½	17	81½	1	100
	Combined Percentage	6	1½	3	11½	31	46½	½	100

The noticeable feature of these figures is that the wages of more than four-fifths of the men are between 15*s* and 25*s*. The return does not apply to London in particular, but, as already stated, the difference, at any rate so far as the principal lines are concerned, between metropolitan and provincial rates of pay is small. This conclusion is borne out by information supplied to the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants by the men employed at the London

stations of three companies, according to which no less than 81 per cent. receive wages of 15*s* to 25*s*, of whom 37 per cent. get between 15*s* and 20*s*, and 44 per cent. between 20*s* and 25*s*.

Both returns, however, are based on rates of wages, and not on actual earnings, which, as we have seen in dealing with the question of overtime, are undoubtedly much higher. A return from one large company of the actual earnings of its locomotive department, supports, so far as it goes, this view, showing that 93 per cent. of the engine drivers, and 17½ per cent. of the firemen and cleaners earned 30*s* or upwards, compared with 82 and 1½ per cent. respectively in the general return.

For the lads and boys employed as porters, 45 per cent. are returned at 10*s* or under, while 54 per cent. earn from 10*s* to 15*s*, and only 1 per cent. over 15*s*. The men's return gives the lads' wages as ranging from 9*s* to 14*s*.

Social Condition.

In the census, 24,767 adult males are returned in these sections, and 17,874 of them come under social classification as heads of families. Practically all are employed. The manner of life is shown in the subjoined table :—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Railway Service and Labour).

3 or more persons to a room.....	7,300 or 9	per cent.	Crowded 30½ %
2 and under 3 ,, ...	17,400 ,, 21½	,,	
1 ,, 2 ,, ...	27,900 ,, 34	,,	Not crowded 69½ %
Less than 1 ,, ...			
More than 4 rooms	29,000 ,, 35½	,,	
4 or more persons to 1 servant ...			
	81,600 ,, 100	,,	
Families of those returned as employers, &c.....	630		
Servants	570		
Total population	82,800		

These figures indicate a much higher standard of life than rates of wages would seem to justify, but the reasons for this will be readily apparent to readers of the foregoing article. They are, briefly recapitulated: constancy of employment, provision of uniform, tips, and systematic overtime—all directly or indirectly tending to increase the annual average income of railway men.

Nor is the system of free passes or reduced fares an unimportant item in the net advantages, enabling the men to avail themselves of the cheaper rents obtainable in the outer circle. This they have not been slow to do, no less that 81½ per cent. of the men living in the outer ring of the metropolis.

CHAPTER IV.

GARDENERS AND COUNTRY LABOUR.

GARDENERS, &c. (*Section* 65.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
Gardener, &c. ..	1044	944	7716	2389	12,093

This is an exceptionally old man's section, as the diagram shows.

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
224	2866	2429	6574	12,093

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Nurseryman, seedsman, herb-grower, bulb importer, florist, bouquetist, fern decoration artist, ornamental rock worker, market gardener, seed grower, fruit grower, cropper, mushroom spawn manufacturer, pea-picker, sorter, domestic gardener, grass keeper, hop-picker.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		7496	Heads of Families 7615.
	Females		119	
Birthplace	In London	22%	1652	
	Out of London	78%	5963	
Industrial Status	Employer	8%	642	
	Employed	75%	5686	
	Neither	17%	1287	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Tot
Total	7615	6981	17,951	491	33,
Average in family..	1	·92	2·36	·07	4·

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	2296	6·9
2 & under 3 ,,	5510	16·7
1 & under 2 ,,	9104	27·7
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	15,038	45·5
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	452	1·4
All others with 2 or more servants ..	147	0·3
Servants	491	1·5
	33,038	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	47½ %	22 %	23⅓ %
Not ,, ..	52½ %	78 %	76⅔ %

Distribution.

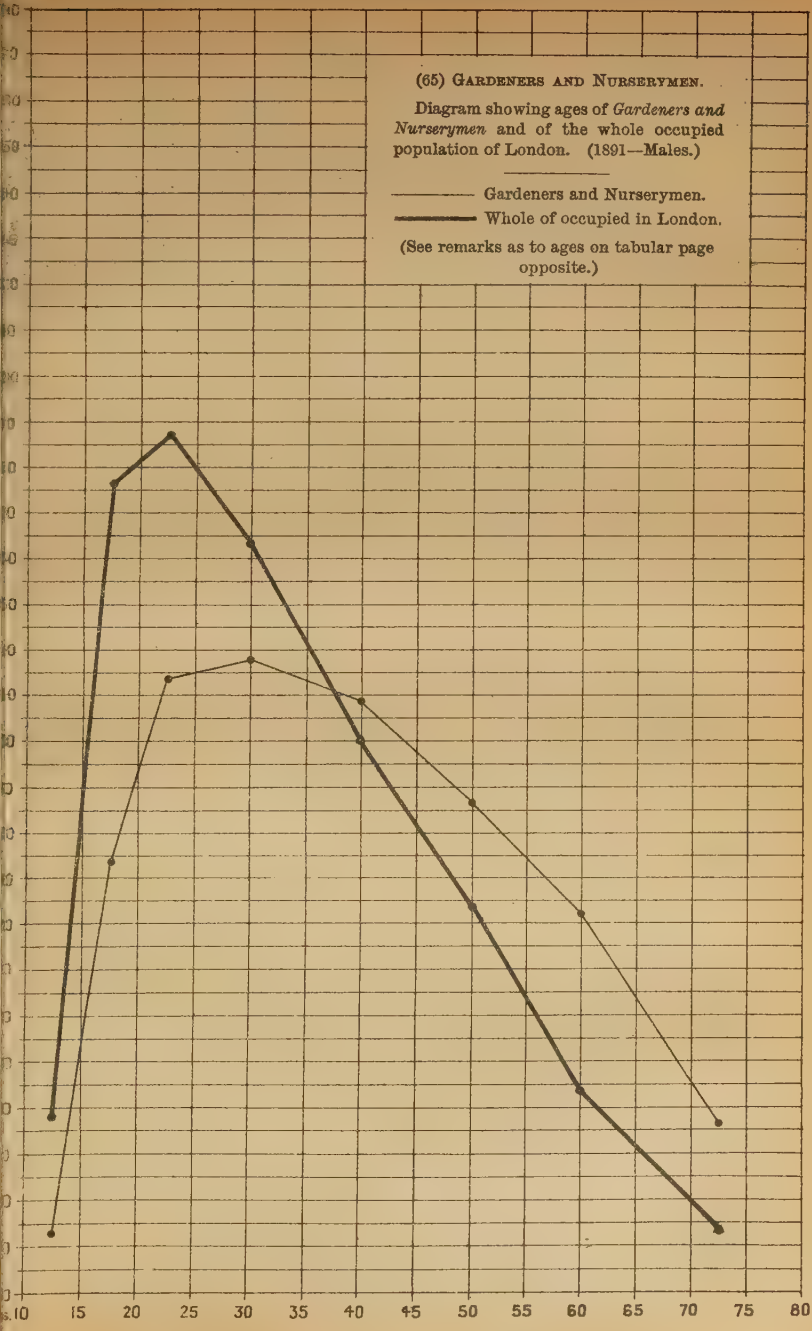
East ..	Inner	266	
	Outer	174	
North	Inner	530	
	Outer	7132	7
West..	Inner	333	
	Outer	4588	4
Central	Inner	465	
South-East	Inner	110	
	Outer	8139	8
South-West	Inner	386	
	Outer	10915	11
			33

Inner 2090, or 6 %
Outer 30,948, or 94 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employer. Males	Employer. Females	Employed. Males. Under 20.	Employed. Males. Over 20.	Employed. Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Males.	Neither Employer nor Employed. Females	Tota
Farm Bailiff, Grazier, &c.	(*Not stated.*)							
Gardener and others	688	51	921	7459	908	1634	75	11,7

os. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Gardeners.

Jobbing gardeners in the Metropolitan district receive 4*s* a day except in a few instances where the employers refuse to give more than 3*s* 6*d* to 3*s* 10*d*. In the suburbs the wages paid are from 2*s* 6*d* to 3*s* 6*d* per day. The day's work begins at 6 A.M. and ends at 5.30 P.M. with an hour and a half for meals, or from daybreak to dusk when the days are short. It is generally small gardens that are attended to, and the business is soon learnt. Where there is a greenhouse the most experienced men are required—men who have perhaps worked some years in a nursery. These men receive a little higher wages and also find more work in winter. On the average, jobbing gardeners do not work more than nine months during the year. In winter they are very badly off, and it is quite impossible for them to find other employment. An employer who has sixteen or twenty men working for him during the summer would not require more than two or three in the severe winter months. Employment is usually by the day.

Some men work directly for the householder, having a *clientèle* to serve and being paid by the day or by the job, and others work to a certain extent in combination, two or three together. There is also a third class, composed of men who are known in the trade as "flying jobbers." Armed with basket, broom, and scythe or shears, they go the round of suburban households, doing odd jobs in small gardens at a very low price. Often they have but a rudimentary knowledge of the work, and many acts of paltry dishonesty are attributed to them.

The greater number, however, of the men in the jobbing branch are employed by master gardeners, who undertake the care of private gardens in addition probably to the business of nurserymen, market gardeners or florists.

Market gardens are either just on or beyond the metropolitan boundary, but some of those who work in them may be included in the census of London. The trade is said to

be growing, and depends largely for its success on the cheapening of transit. The usual hours of work in summer are from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., with half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, or in winter time from daylight till dark, with an hour for dinner. The wages vary from 12*s* to 20*s* a week, but are seldom as high as 20*s*; foremen receive 25*s* or 26*s*. Overtime is paid at 2½*d* up to at most 4½*d* an hour for special work, such as seed planting. These wages are to a great extent nominal, as in most market gardens the bulk of the work is paid by piece. For instance, digging is paid for by the rod, planting, hoeing and weeding by the acre, and in this way active men earn very much more than the ordinary time rates. Spring and autumn are the busiest times. In the summer slack season men may obtain other work at haymaking or hop-picking, but in winter, when thrown out by frost, or snow, or rain, no other work is available and sometimes for weeks together the men are entirely out of work. In the very hardest weather none but carmen would be regularly employed, and it may be a small number of men and women for a few hours two or three times a week to cut green stuff for the market.

A knowledge of market gardening is not easily acquired, being of so varied a character that a boy beginning at fifteen may be thirty before he understands the business thoroughly. But most of those employed are labourers, and the degree of skill demanded from them is soon acquired. Very few apprentices are taken. The boys employed are paid a small wage, from 1*s* to 2*s* per week, the amount increasing gradually as they become proficient.

The men are exposed to the weather, and so are subject to lumbago, rheumatism and pleurisy, but are often able to work till late in life.

Nurseries offer much the same conditions of employment as market gardens, except that in them there will be a small number of skilled men paid 26*s* to 30*s*. Special skill in each department is required in the heating and

ventilating of greenhouses, and in properly attending to the delicate plants which they may contain. A whole suite of houses may be heated from one boiler and range of pipes, but the management of the houses varies according to their purpose; vineries, pineries, ferneries, palm-houses, and wall-fruit under glass requiring each different treatment. Each is itself a branch of the trade, and it will take years to learn the management of a series of houses. In a large establishment each man has his speciality. The skilled man in each department is often salesman as well as grower, and may receive a commission on the amount of his sales.

Of the men employed in the parks and public gardens of London, about 310 are in the service of the London County Council, of whom nine are park foremen at 28*s* to 40*s* a week, and forty-four are classed as propagators, assistant propagators, gangers, head labourers, and tree pruners, their wages ranging from 27*s* to 35*s* a week. The rest are paid 6*d* an hour. Hours of work are usually forty-eight per week in winter and fifty-four during the remainder of the year. Half-pay is allowed in sickness, and an annual holiday of seven or fourteen days, with pay, is granted. For gardeners employed by metropolitan vestries the amount of wages differs in almost every case, but the most common rate is from 24*s* to 30*s*. Hours of work are, as with the London County Council, shorter in winter than summer, but vary from forty-eight to seventy or more per week. An annual holiday of a week or fortnight at full wages is customary, and in some cases uniform is provided.

The men returned in this section are entirely unorganized.

Social Condition.

Living almost entirely on or near the borders of London, gardeners are not affected by high rents to the extent of

workers in most other callings, and consequently their social position, as tested by number of rooms occupied, is much more favourable than might be expected, judging by the prevailing rates of wages. The men, too, are generally of a frugal, thrifty nature, and as many of them are either in the direct employ of well-to-do families or obtain their living in keeping private gardens in order, there are doubtless additions of one kind or another to the stated wage. From the subjoined table it will be seen that only 26 per cent. live under "crowded" conditions, whilst 43 per cent. belong to the central classes:—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Gardeners).

3 or more persons to a room	2300	or	7½	per cent. } Crowded 26 %
2 and under 3 ,,	5500	,,	18½	,,
1 ,, 2 ,,	9100	,,	30½	,, } Not crowded 74 %
Less than 1 ,,				
Occupying more than 4 rooms	12,900	,,	43½	,,
4 or more persons to a servant	———	,,	——	
	29,800	,,	100	,,
Employers' families and servants	3200			
Total population.....	33,000			

COUNTRY LABOUR. (*Section* 66.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Division, 91.	Females	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
ultural	96	138	681	240	1155
er	3	41	516	115	675
maker ..	—	67	556	96	719
and rier	3	83	965	174	1225
TOTAL....	102	329	2718	625	3774

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	2231	Heads of Families, 2270
	Females	39	
Birthplace	In London .... 47 %	1071	
	Out of London.. 53 %	1199	
Industrial Status	Employer ..... 10 %	223	
	Employed ..... 83 %	1885	
	Neither ..... 7 %	162	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	2270	2168	5988	307	10,733
Average in family..	1	·95	2·64	·14	4·73

Distribution.

N.	W.& C.	S.	Total.
811	746	1819	3774

Classification.

For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1574	14·7
2 & under 3 ,,	2580	24·0
1 & under 2 ,,	2617	24·4
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms	3174	29·6
4 or more persons to a servant		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	242	2·3
All others with 2 or more servants ..	239	2·
Servants	307	2·9
	10,733	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	57 %	33 %	39 %
Not ,, ..	43 %	67 %	61 %

Distribution.

East..	Inner	826	1113
	Outer	287	
North	Inner	190	2350
	Outer	2160	
West	Inner	134	1668
	Outer	1534	
Central	Inner	418	418
South-East	Inner	316	3037
	Outer	2721	
South-West	Inner	738	2147
	Outer	1409	
			10,733

Inner 2622, or 24 %
Outer 8111, or 76 %

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

servant, cottager, cowman, hay er, cutter, trusser; hedger and ner, spade labourer, stock keeper, p shearer, dipper.

e, sheep, pig dealer, salesman.

k, tile maker, burner, dealer; moulder, r, skintler, clay getter, temperer.

r (various minerals), stone and slate rrier, cutter, dresser.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
ultural labourer, shepherd	*Not separately stated.*							
le, sheep, pig dealer, salesman	77	1	9	47	—	83	2	219
ver	12	—	32	375	—	37	—	456
k, tile maker, burner	34	—	45	360	—	8	—	447
e burner, clay, sand, &c., labourer	5	—	9	107	—	2	—	123
ter, cement manufacturer.....	23	—	13	108	—	5	—	149
er (various minerals) ..... ne or slate quarrier	*Not separately stated.*							
TOTAL (of Nos. 2 and 3)....	151	1	108	997	—	135	2	1394
	152		1105			137		

Brickmakers, &c.

Excepting that there may still be a few persons employed in agriculture on the outskirts of the metropolis, or in tending sheep or cattle, and that there are a small number engaged in the cutting and dressing of stone, the appearance of the headings "agricultural labourer" and "miner and quarrier" in the census of London may be taken as accidental—either those so returned are chance visitors or are such new-comers as not to have yet properly settled down to any calling associated with urban life. Drovers are dealt with in connection with the wholesale meat trade (Pt. II., chapter IV.), and the only occupation calling for any description here is that of the brickmakers, who are a steadily decreasing body in London, preceding the builder in a gradual exodus to districts outside the metropolitan area. Brickmaking is essentially a seasonal occupation, work being at its busiest from June to August, when large earnings are the rule. The brick-moulders and their assistants or boys, work in gangs or "stools," which vary from four men and two boys to two men and four boys. They are paid by the piece, at from 4*s* 6*d* to 5*s* per thousand bricks, 4*s* 9*d* being the more usual figure. They can only do this work in the summer, and in winter are employed in digging and preparing the clay, &c., for the following season. This also is piece-work, the rate being about 6*d* per ton. For those who "set" the bricks, paid 1*s* 10*d* to 2*s* per thousand bricks, there is no work at their trade during the winter, and they usually find employment at the gasworks. Earnings of moulders and setters range from 45*s* or 50*s* in summer to nil in the winter months. Besides these, a few men are employed in various capacities as shearers out, clamp men, labourers, &c., payment being in nearly all cases reckoned at per thousand bricks.

Some of the men in this section belong to the large general unions of labourers, which are described in Part V. of this volume. As to social condition, it will be seen from the table

which follows that, although also living mainly in the outer portion of London, those here represented exist in much poorer surroundings than the gardeners, no less than 44½ per cent. of the employed being crowded in their homes, whilst only 28 per cent. are of the central class :—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Country Labour).

3 or more persons to a room	1570	or 17	per cent.	Crowded 44½ %
2 and under 3 ,,	2580	,, 27½	,,	
1 ,, 2 ,,	2600	,, 27½	,,	Not crowded 55½ %
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms ..... / 4 or more persons to a servant	2650	,, 28	,,	
	9400	,, 100	,,	
Employers' families and servants	1330			
Total population	10,730			

CHAPTER V.

MERCHANT SEAMEN AND LIGHTERMEN.

SEAMEN, &c. (*Section* 67.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
(1) Seaman	64	1444	9325	1141	11,974
(2) Fisherman..	—	11	76	13	100
TOTAL....	64	1455	9401	1154	12,074

As compared to the whole occupied population, the age line here shows a deficiency of boys and youths and a surplus of men between 25 and 60 years of age (*see* diagram). Such lads as are learning seamanship are on the training ships, which, of course, lie outside the metropolitan boundary.

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
6233	703	968	4170	12,074

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Sailor, yachtsman, mariner, sea reeve; seagoing captains, officers, engineers, firemen; ship's steward, cook; servants and mechanics on board merchant vessels; Lascar or Asiatic seamen, &c.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	3577	Heads of Families 3592.
	Females	15	
Birthplace	In London	42 % 1502	
	Out of London..	58 % 2090	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	4 % 169	
	Employed.....	93 % 3333	
	Neither	3 % 90	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.
Total	3592	3004	8648	589
Average in family..	1	·84	2·41	·16

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1621	10·2
2 & under 3 ,,	3218	20·4
1 & under 2 ,,	4372	27·6
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	5242	33·1
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	295	1·9
All others with 2 or more servants..	496	3·1
Servants	589	3·7
	15,833	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	41 %	25 %	30½ %
Not ,, ..	59 %	75 %	69½ %

DISTRIBUTION.

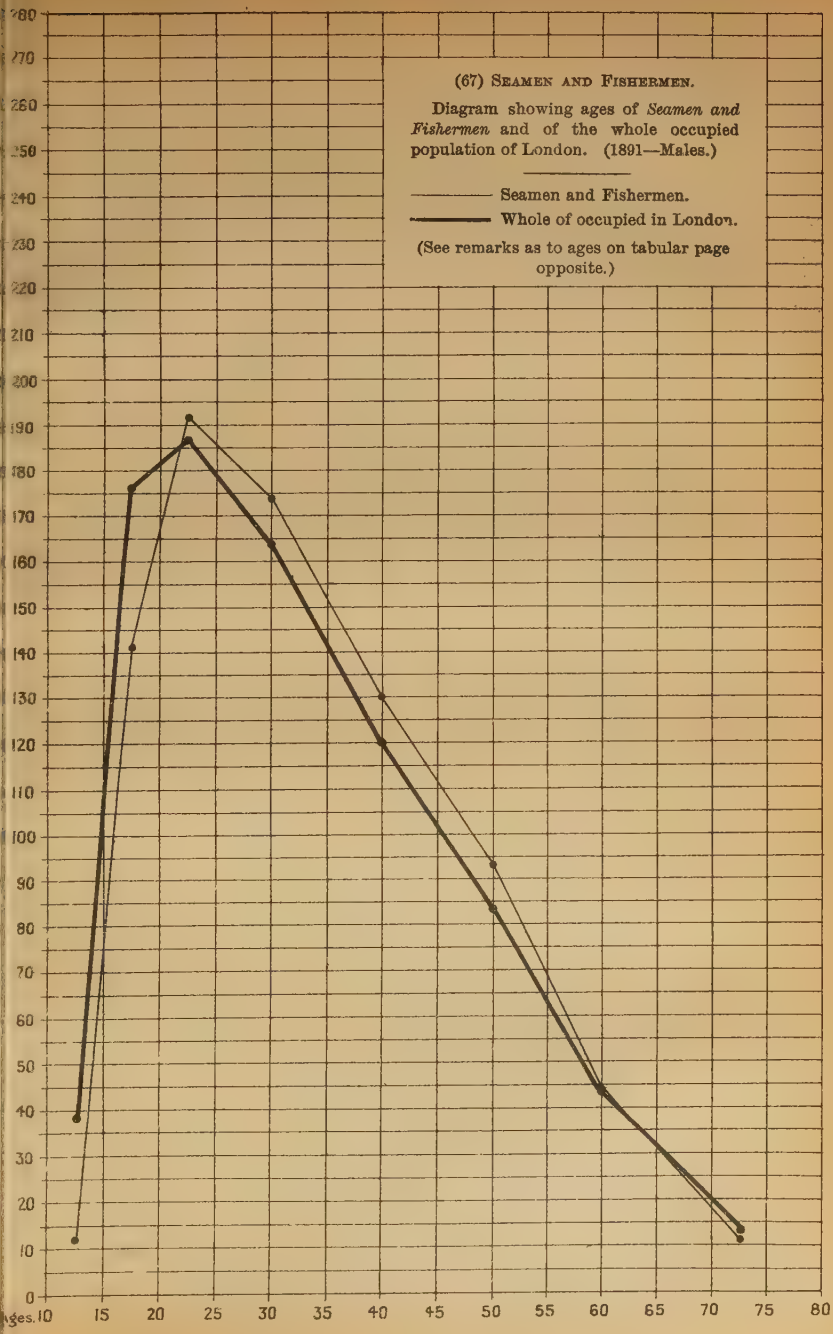
East ..	Inner	2576
	Outer	4125
North	Inner	217
	Outer	952
West ..	Inner	185
	Outer	787
Central	Inner	251
South-East	Inner	1691
	Outer	3753
South-West	Inner	489
	Outer	807

Inner 5409, or 34 %
Outer 10,424, or 66 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		T
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
(1) Seaman, pilot (merchant service)	305	2	1444	9911	61	250	1	1
(2) Fisherman	5	—	11	58	—	26	—	
	310	2	1455	9969	61	276	1	1
TOTAL.....	312		11,485			277		

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Ages.

Seamen (Merchant Service).

The calling of the seaman can hardly be considered a London industry, and so does not strictly fall within the province of this work; but seamen on shore form a sufficiently large proportion of the population of the Metropolis to make some description of them desirable. The inherent hardships and dangers of a sailor's life, combined with his free and open disposition, appeal strongly to the sentimental side of human nature, and consequently "poor Jack" is a people's idol. Childlike often in his guileless simplicity, he is popularly supposed to be the victim of imposition at every turn—his helplessness taken advantage of by inhuman shipowners who have over-insured coffin-ships to send to sea, and his interests totally neglected by callous legislators, because he rarely has a vote to give; whilst, when ashore, he is, it is assumed, an easy prey to the "land sharks"—crimps and loose women—who subsist by plundering him. As a matter of fact, there would until as late as the reign of the "sailor king" have been a great deal of truth in this picture, but in 1836 Parliament awoke to the fact that all was not well with our mercantile marine, and from that year onward there has been a constant stream of legislative activity aimed at redressing the trials and hardships that were the inevitable lot of the British seaman in the "good old days," and culminating in the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, which embodies the salient features of previous enactments, codifies the law on the subject, and repeals nearly all former Acts. A perusal of this great measure shows that few genuine grievances remain unredressed, in so far as it is in the power of Parliament to remedy them, and such unnecessary hardships as still form part of the seaman's lot are probably due rather to laxity in the enforcement of the law than to any grave defect in its provisions. On two points only is there room perhaps for much further legislation: in order that undermanning and excessive insurance

may be made no less illegal than overloading, it may be desirable that the number of crew which a vessel should carry, and the extent of insurance, should be fixed by law.

Side by side with legislation, philanthropy has done much for the seaman, especially by the building of clubs and homes of a very commodious and comfortable description. These have to some extent supplanted the old boarding houses, many of which were dens of iniquity. London is especially rich in such philanthropic institutions. There is, for example, the Sailors' Home in Well Street, London Docks, which in an excellent manner provides for the physical, mental and spiritual needs of the seaman. When he steps ashore, carts belonging to the institution are waiting to convey him and his luggage to the home free of charge, and he is, if he wishes it, supplied with such clothes and other necessaries as he requires at very reasonable rates; and is provided with a separate cabin and four meals a day for the sum of 15*s* a week. There is a bank in which he may deposit his money and withdraw it as needed, or remit any part to his friends free of charge; and other advantages are secured to the man which otherwise would be quite beyond his reach, not the least being some protection from the crowd of low characters who still make it their business to lie in wait for him. During 1894, 7491 seamen took up their quarters at the Home, and £39,258 was deposited by them in the savings bank. The Missions to Seamen, which was founded in 1854, has two institutes —one in the East India Dock Road, Poplar, the other in Wells Street, London Docks—which are open daily from 10 A.M. for the free use of seamen only, and although primarily of a religious character provide plenty of bright and cheerful amusement for the men; a navigation school, night school, and ambulance classes are held; temperance refreshments are supplied, and although men are not lodged, a list of respectable lodgings is kept for the guidance of frequenters of the institute. In addition

to these, there is a well-managed home for Lascars and Asiatic seamen in the West India Dock Road, and there are other institutions which aim at benefiting "Jack" during the period when he is on shore; so that he has a much better chance than in the past of leading a decent, sober life, and of spending thriftily the wages which have accumulated during the months or weeks that he has passed at sea.

Conditions of Employment.—With the change from sailing to steam vessels a new class of merchant seamen has arisen. The crew of a modern passenger steamer can hardly be said to consist of seamen in the true sense of the word, one half being stewards, cooks and other personal attendants on the passengers, whilst of the remaining half the majority are firemen and trimmers. Competent officers and engineers there must of course be, and a few experienced seamen for navigating purposes, but the ordinary deck hands are little better than labourers. They are, as of yore, divided into "larboard" (or "port") and "starboard" watches, working in spells of four hours on and off duty with a two hours' "dog watch" in the evening, arranged so that the hours of work may be changed; but in place of the splicing, bracing, setting and general manipulation of ropes and sails and other work of navigation, they are now chiefly occupied in cleaning, scrubbing, scouring, holystoning, polishing and painting the different parts of the ship. The experienced men attend to the steering of the vessel, taking turns at the wheel of two hours' duration. They are entitled "quarter-masters," and receive extra pay for this work. On cargo boats (*i.e.* steamships which do not carry passengers) the numerous cooks and stewards are of course dispensed with, but otherwise the composition and work of the much smaller crew is similar.

As some seamanship is eminently necessary for all seagoing vessels, it is fortunate that steam has not, and it

seems is not now likely to, supersede sail entirely. The men required can obtain their training on board sailing ships, and apprenticeship to the sea survives among those who, as embryo officers, serve their time on these vessels.

It must, however, be admitted that as a natural consequence of the change, proper methods of training in seamenship have declined greatly. Apart from the comparatively small number who come from training ships, boys are picked up by the captains from the ranks of adventurous youths, who still think it a fine thing to go to sea. A man must have seen four years' service and possess certificates of discharge attesting to efficiency in order to be considered a competent A. B. Firemen and trimmers are recruited from stokers and all kinds of labourers on shore. They are generally of a rather lower class than sailors, and often take to the sea because they have failed to obtain work, or because disreputable habits have brought them into disgrace, at home. A trimmer will serve in that capacity on a vessel for at least twelve months before he becomes a fireman.

The wages of seamen on steam-ships are from 70*s* to 80*s* per month, and on sailing vessels about 55*s* per month. Firemen get from 70*s* to 90*s*, and trimmers from 60*s* to 70*s*. The wages vary a little with the port to which (and from which) the voyage is made; in each case food is given in addition. On weekly boats (usually the smaller coasting vessels) the men get from 28*s* to 30*s* a week and find their own food. Advance notes are issued to seamen after signing articles and are usually for a fortnight or a month's wages; they are payable at from three to twelve days after the ship sails, and are accepted by boarding masters (*i.e.* boarding-house keepers), tradesmen, and publicans at about 10 per cent. discount. Seamen are also enabled in some cases to allocate, by means of allotment notes, a portion of their pay to their wives or other relatives, but the custom is not general. Where issued, these notes are

not payable till the money is earned—generally at the end of each month of service. They, too, are frequently discounted; the man will perhaps discount the first note at 10 per cent. and use the money himself, with the result that the wife must wait two months for money, unless she gets the second note cashed, for which accommodation she will probably have to pay 20 per cent. or more.

There is an admirable system now in work which obviates the necessity of seamen having to wait for their wages at the port of discharge, exposed to all the temptations of a place to which they are perhaps strangers. They may, having received their travelling money, proceed straight home, the balance of their wages being collected by a government official and sent on to them. About £200,000 a year is paid in this way.

Wages on the whole are certainly much higher than they used to be, but in these days of rapid voyages few sailors earn money throughout the year, and men are often out of work for a month at a time. The men do not usually stick to the same ship, so the interval between voyages is largely at their own choice.

The dietary scale of a seaman is of a somewhat primitive character, pork being one of its principal constituents, but it appears to be generally sufficient in quantity. There are many complaints as to indifferent cooking, and an attempt to remedy this is being made by, amongst other bodies, the London County Council, which organizes cooking classes for seamen, and awards certificates for proficiency.

Age capacity.—Few men can or do go to sea after fifty; on reaching that age they try to get jobs on shore, but except for those who take to ship-keeping, this is not easy. Many leave at an earlier age and turn to stevedoring or other dock labour, and some join the fire brigade or river police. We also hear of them engaged upon many operations requiring nerve, &c., such as the stretching of telegraph wires and rigging of building cranes, &c.

Non-British Seamen.—Excluding officers and petty officers, who are with few exceptions British, fully one-third of the men in the merchant service are either Lascars (Indian seamen) or foreigners. The Lascar is predominant in steam vessels which cruise from London to the East, and is preferred not only on account of his more temperate and docile nature, but because he will accept very much lower wages (about one-third) than would satisfy the Englishman, and is content with less food and poorer accommodation. There are, however, certain drawbacks connected with his employment; he is physically much inferior, two British seamen being fully equal to three Lascars; he is almost useless for, and must not be employed in, cold climates; and the owners of the vessels who bring him over here are forced, under heavy penalties, to support him whilst in this country, and to return him to his own land.

Trade Organization.

There are in London four branches, with about one thousand members, of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland. This union was formed at the close of 1894 on the ruins of the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union, which came to grief in that year. Among the stated objects of the union are the following:—(1) To use any legitimate effort to provide for the safety of ship's work in order to prevent loss of life at sea. (2) To provide an efficient class of men for the Mercantile Marine, and to see that all members of the union are on board their ships at the time appointed, in a fit and proper condition, ready for work. (3) To secure the legal enactment of a compulsory manning scale for all vessels registered in the United Kingdom. (4) To secure the consent of Parliament for the passing of the "Merchant Seamen Employment and Rating Bill," which renders it

necessary that all seamen and firemen shall be duly qualified and shall hold certificates of qualification. (5) To bring about a modification of the laws relating to Marine Insurance, so as to prevent the over-valuation of ships.

Shipowners are associated in the Shipping Federation which was formed in 1890 to combat the aggressive action of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union in trying to prevent non-unionists from being employed on ships. The Federation issues a ticket to seamen, without which they cannot obtain employment on federated vessels. It has also a scheme of free insurance against accidents during employment, to which men are eligible under certain conditions.

The long struggle which took place between the two representative bodies, and resulted unfavourably to the men's organization, is now matter of history, and being of national rather than local importance, need not be described here.

The picturesque block of buildings at Mile End, known as Trinity Almshouses, have, for two centuries past, afforded shelter to decayed master mariners, pilots, and their widows, but it is now (1895) proposed to demolish the institution and substitute a system of out-pensions, which would allow of a larger number of persons being benefited. The scheme has, however, aroused considerable opposition, and may possibly be dropped.

LIGHTERMEN, &c. (*Section* 68.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Lighterman, &c.	20	690	4649	692	6051

According to the diagram opposite the ages in this section are much above the average. It seems probable, however, that many of the youths have returned themselves indefinitely as "apprentices," and so are included with undefined labour elsewhere.

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
2335	133	422	3161	6051

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Bargeman, waterman, boatman; boat hauler, letter, keeper; boat-horse rider, ferryman, freeman, mate on canal boat, smacksman (undefined), sculler, steerer; tug driver, steerer; wherryman.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		4075
	Females		4
Birthplace	In London	75 %	3053
	Out of London	25 %	1026
Industrial Status	Employer	4 %	178
	Employed	90 %	3662
	Neither	6 %	239

Heads of Fami 4079.

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.
Total	4079	3656	11,703	128
Average in family	1	·89	2·87	·03

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part IV.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	1907	9·8
2 & under 3 ,,	4944	25·2
1 & under 2 ,,	5811	29·8
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	6582	33·7
Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servants	143	·7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	51	·2
Servants	128	·6
	19,566	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	39 %	30 %	35 %
Not ,, ..	61 %	70 %	65 %

Distribution.

East	Inner	4701
	Outer	3308
North	Inner	18
	Outer	289
West	Inner	190
	Outer	707
Central	Inner	148
South-East	Inner	3928
	Outer	3627
South-West	Inner	1158
	Outer	1492

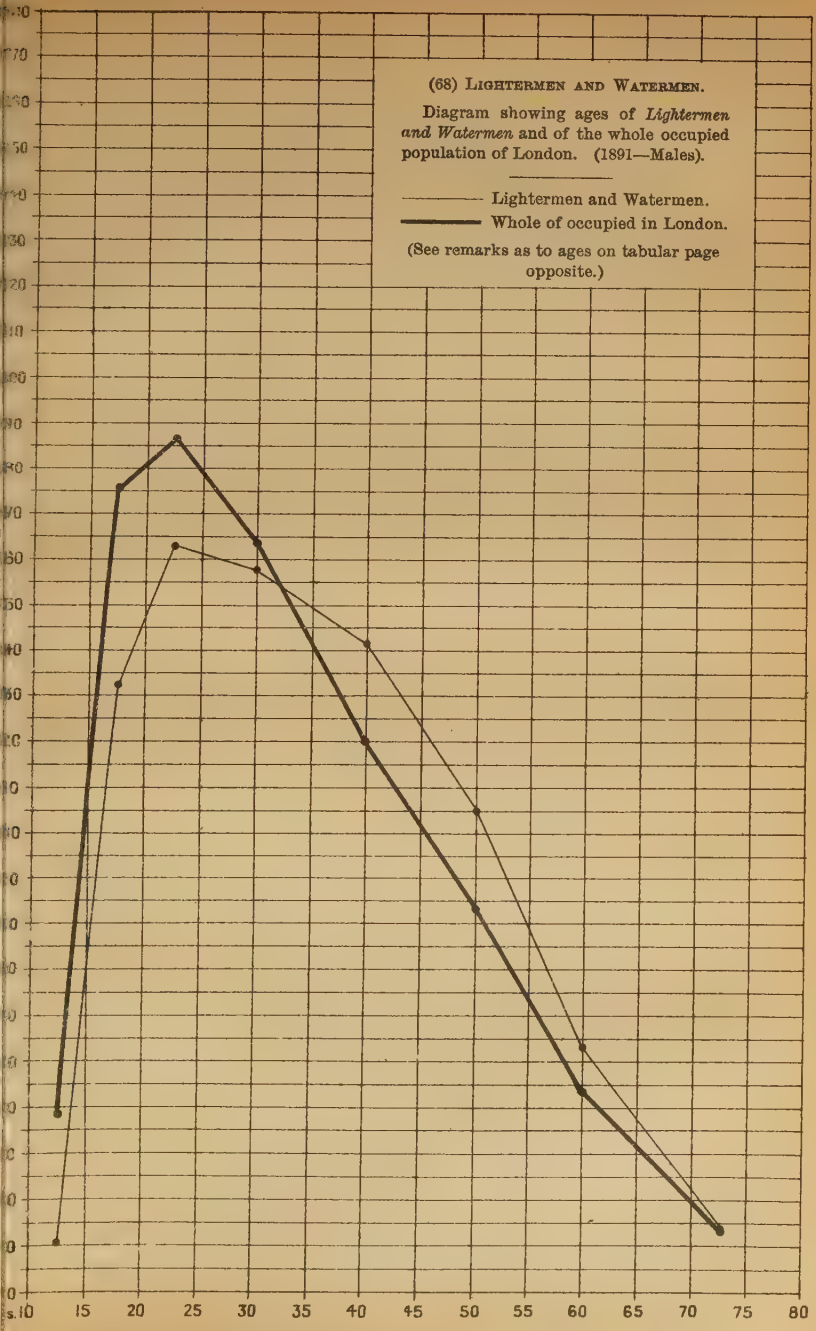
Inner 10,143, or 52 %
Outer 9423, or 48 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.	
			Males.		Females of all ages.		
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females
Bargeman, Lighterman, and Waterman	199	—	690	4825	18	317	2
	199		5533			319	

Proportion of Employers to Employed—1 to 28.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Introductory.—The Watermen's Company.*

There is peculiar interest attaching to the occupation of the lightermen and watermen of London as a calling which maintains, amid all the pressure of modern competitive industry, almost intact at the present day, monopolies and privileges which were secured in quite other times. From a remote period the waterman has been a necessary factor of London life; and, indeed, in those early days when the old City was intersected by streams, when there were few bridges and hackney carriages unknown, he was of far more importance than he is now. The river was the royal road between the palaces of Windsor, Westminster, and Greenwich; the houses of the great and noble lined its northern banks, and the citizens were largely dependent on it for their means of locomotion. For a long period the watermen had practically a free hand, carrying passengers and goods at their own pleasure and charges; and although custom had established some sort of scale of prices, it seems probable that excessive charges, leading sometimes to trouble and violence, were not infrequently made. At any rate, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the authorities concluded that something like systematic regulation was needed, a scale of fares being drawn up and confirmed by statute; and this was followed a few years later by an Act which directed that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City should annually select "eight of the most wise, discreet, and best sort of watermen, being householders," to act as "overseers and rulers of all the wherrymen and watermen." They were empowered to keep a register of watermen (primarily in order to get a sufficient supply of seamen for naval purposes), and to arrange a list of fares and prices for subsequent confirmation by Parliament. Thus was the first step taken in the

* For the historical particulars here given I am largely indebted to Mr. H. Llewellyn Smith.

formation of a permanent organization for the control of the river, resulting later on in the establishment of the present Watermen and Lightermen's Company.

But the newly inaugurated method of government, and particularly the mode of its selection, does not seem to have for very long satisfied the general body of watermen, who appear to have been as keen in their aspirations after self-government as are their descendants of the present day. In 1621, they promoted a Bill with a view of securing representation on the Court, and a few years later were partially successful in their objects, being allowed to nominate twenty persons from whom (with certain others) the eight rulers were selected by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

The twenty watermen from whom the rulers were to be chosen were selected by a body of fifty-five electors, representing the fifty-five towns and stairs between Windsor and Gravesend where watermen plied for hire. These electors had no permanent status, but aided probably by the distracted state of the country and by the apathy of the bulk of their fellows, they quietly established themselves as a bogus "court of assistants," and this position they or their nominees and successors held and abused for nearly half a century. Then, in 1691, came another change resulting in the dismissal of this self-constituted body and the substitution, though still by an indirect process of election, of a genuine Court of Assistants, which thus took definite shape as a federal organization, representing all the watermen's plying places. Subsequently the lightermen became combined with the watermen in one company, and elected nine assistants to represent them on the Court; whilst, with a similar object, three rulers were selected by the Court of the Lord Mayor.

For a hundred years or more this arrangement continued, but ultimately, as a result on the one side of disputes and riotous election proceedings, and of arbitrary measures on

the other, the system of popular election broke down, and was finally abolished in 1827, when the Company was for the first time incorporated, taking the title of "Master Warden and Commonalty of Watermen and Lightermen on the Thames," and combining rulers and assistants into one Court. Thereafter, in the event of any vacancy in its number, the Court nominated three candidates, from whom one was chosen to sit by the Lord Mayor's Court; but this developed into a mere formality, and was done away with by an amending Act passed in 1859, since which time the Court has filled up any vacancies by co-option.

The Watermen's Company is not, like most City Companies, "in the livery," but, unlike them also, it has extensive powers, duties, and responsibilities, and is perhaps quite unique in the fact that it consists almost entirely of practical men, either employers or employed, in the trade which it represents. Its membership comprises about 7500 Freemen, 95 per cent. of whom have served a period of actual working apprenticeship on the river, the remainder being owners of craft belonging to the port. From Teddington Lock to Gravesend its jurisdiction over the labour of the Thames waterway is absolute, and no person, be he either man or boy, may navigate or assist in navigating any vessel unless he holds the licence, certificate or indenture of the company.

Apart from the work thus allotted to it of maintaining an efficient supply of skilled labour on the river, the company has also the duty (imposed by a recent Act of Parliament) of measuring, registering, and ascertaining the tonnage of all craft plying within the area of their jurisdiction, so that those of over fifty tons burden may be required to employ a second hand. They thus have the oversight of from eight thousand to ten thousand barges, besides other vessels and innumerable boats let out for hire, which have to be licensed by the Court of the company according to the number of persons they will safely carry.

In the enforcement of its authority, too, the company has special powers. It employs a small staff of inspectors, whose duty it is to see that its regulations for the control of river navigation are properly observed, and it holds, by legal right, a periodical "court of complaints," at which Freemen are summoned and fined for breaches of the laws.

Complaint is made of the inefficiency of the system of inspection. The officials on whom this work devolves have each a district allotted to them, and are on duty from 10 A.M. till 5 P.M. only, whilst an appreciable quantity of the work of the river is done at night. It is sometimes found a convenient business arrangement to load the barges during the day, and have them taken to their destination during the night in readiness for unloading next morning. During this period the only inspection is that of the Thames police, who, although they have the power, rarely interfere with any matter which comes under the jurisdiction of the company.

The company has an ordinary income of £3000 a year, derived mainly from fees paid for registration, licences, apprenticeships, granting of freedom, &c., and spends about a similar amount in its administrative duties. It has an invested poor's fund of £50,000, the interest of which is expended in giving small grants to five hundred aged Freemen. The company has also an asylum at Penge for decayed members, their wives or widows, this institution being supported by voluntary effort.

Lightermen.

Character of Work.—The distinction between the lighterman and the waterman, it is perhaps hardly necessary to state, is the difference between goods and passenger traffic. Lightermen are engaged in the transport of goods by water, in lighters or barges, and are such familiar figures on the river that their method of work scarcely needs any descrip-

tion.* Few passengers on board a Thames steamboat but must have observed, as they passed, the skilful manner in which the lighterman, armed with his long oar, walks swiftly backwards and forwards on the narrow gunwale of his barge, guiding and propelling a huge load along the broad stretch of the river. Or perhaps the scene has been witnessed from London Bridge, where the spectator looking down on the crowded stream below has watched with interest the almost dainty fashion in which the lighterman has picked his way amid craft innumerable, admiring the dexterous "turn of the wrist," as it were, by which the imminent collision has been avoided. In fine weather and daylight the task seems none too easy, and one can well imagine how, given a heavy fog, or a dark and stormy night, or a keen frost, which, covering the gunwale with ice, renders foothold most insecure, the difficulties and dangers of the work increase.

The labour of the lighterman is divisible into several more or less distinct classes, such as quay work, coal, corn or timber lighterage, rafting, &c., but the men are interchangeable, though, of course, with experience in any one branch comes greater facility for its special work. Consequently in ordinary times the sphere of each description of worker is kept to a certain extent distinct, this being assisted by the prevailing custom in regard to the loading of the barges, which varies with the class of goods to be carried. Thus quay lightermen have the handling of general merchandise, and as they have to stow the goods themselves, must have considerable knowledge of this kind of work. The corn men are also responsible for the stowing of the sacks of grain which are brought to the side of the craft or, if delivered in bulk, must trim it is so that the weight is evenly distributed over the vessel. Timber, on the other hand, is by an arrangement between the barge-owner and

* Lighters have an oval keel, and are not much used now. Barges, which have flat bottoms, are more generally employed.

the master stevedore stowed by the lumpers, who carry it to the barge; and coal in bulk is trimmed usually by the coal porters. The rafting of timber, to be afterwards towed to its destination, is the work of lightermen.

Method of Training.—As already indicated, every boy who wishes to become a lighterman or waterman must be apprenticed. The indenture is a lengthy document, and imposes various duties on both employer and lad, which, however, frequently remain unregarded. Any Freeman of the company is entitled by law to take apprentices, and it sometimes happens that the most impecunious amongst them do so, not because they really require the services of the lads, but because the small premium found by relations or by some charity is very acceptable. In these cases the master is probably a casual hand, having no work for himself, let alone his apprentice, and so the lad gets employment with some firm of lightermen or barge-owners, or picks up a living at casual work. This, owing to the demand for boy labour occasioned by its cheapness, he has little difficulty in doing. At the end of two years the apprentice is examined by members of the Court of the company, and if found capable his master (real or nominal) is granted a certificate to allow the boy "to take sole charge of any boat, barge, &c., from time to time as he may deem him competent to do, but subject at all times to his control and direction." The examination is oral, and the extent of it is partly determined by the reports of the inspectors who may have seen the youth at work. Physical capability is considered as well as knowledge, and about 10 per cent. of the applicants are from one cause or another rejected.

The certificate once obtained, the apprentice is at liberty to undertake any kind of work which he may be able to obtain, and so conceivably a lad of sixteen may have charge of a large barge of seventy or eighty tons burden, with, as his "able and skilful" assistant, a boy of fourteen. Did this actually occur with any frequency it might no doubt

be a source of serious danger on the crowded river, particularly taking into account bad weather and night work, but the officials of the company, while admitting the legal possibility, contend that such a case rarely, if ever, does happen. In the first place, boys are usually considerably more than fourteen when apprenticed, the average age being over sixteen, and thus the age at which the two years' certificates are granted is eighteen or more; secondly, the lads' capacity for the work is fully tested before granting the certificate; thirdly, the employers are too mindful of their own interests to put incompetent persons in charge of their property, and many of them would, in fact, be very glad to see the licensing system done away with entirely, so that they might be free to employ what labour they like—they are, they say, quite capable of securing for themselves efficient employees. Finally, it is urged, the boys must not be looked upon in the light of absolute novices coming into the trade. The lightermen and watermen are a clannish lot, and more than 80 per cent. of the apprentices are their sons or near relatives; consequently they have been "brought up" to the river, and "take to the water like ducks." These are, no doubt, powerful reasons which tend to minimize the danger arising from what would certainly seem, at first sight, to be an unsatisfactory state of the law, whether from the point of view of the safety of the public or of the workers. On the other hand, the representatives of the men assert that cases of the inefficient manning of craft are not so infrequent, and question the value of the examination, whilst the comparative cheapness of boy labour and the compensatory powers of insurance offer to the less scrupulous employers strong temptation to take unnecessary risks. In any case, the fifteen hundred or sixteen hundred apprentices compete severely with the work of the men, and on many grounds the facilities offered to boy labour appear to need careful watching.

The period of apprenticeship varies from five to seven years, according to the age of the boy when bound. Wages commence at 1*s* 8*d* a day and 1*s* 6*d* a night, and rise by annual increments until, in the seventh year, the full wage of a Freeman is paid. At the end of his term the young man undergoes a further examination, and produces a certificate of practical knowledge, signed by six Freemen. In return he receives the freedom of the company, and is granted a licence empowering him in most cases to act as either waterman or lighterman, but in some instances the privilege is limited to one branch, this depending on his experience.

In a limited number of cases, men over twenty years of age (called "contract men") are allowed to serve a two years' apprenticeship, and are given a licence, but they do not obtain the freedom of the Company.

On signing the indenture of apprenticeship a fee of 28*s* has to be paid, and on taking up the freedom, £2. 6*s*. These fees, less stamp duty, go to the Watermen's Company, which also charges 5*s* on the first issue of a licence, and 3*s* per annum as a renewal fee. The money for the freedom is nearly always forthcoming, there being one or two charities which help the men in this matter.

Conditions of Employment.—The wages and hours of work of lightermen were fixed in 1889 when, following the great Dock Strike, a conference took place between representatives of the lightermen and their employers, and certain points in dispute were submitted to arbitration. Under the terms then arranged the working day is one of twelve hours, and must be between the hours of 6 A.M. and 8 P.M. For this the payment is 6*s*, with an allowance of 1*s* per hour for overtime. In case of night work, 4*s* is paid for the first four hours (8 P.M. till midnight), or 6*s* for a full night (8 P.M. till 6 A.M.), the employer being required to specify before work begins whether the night is to be a long or a short one. A night's work must consist of one job only. Wages for

Sunday work are for a full day, 8*s*; up to 10 A.M., 4*s*; after 12 noon, 6*s*. There is also extra payment for the early turn out (from 5 till 6 o'clock in the morning), and for waiting late for orders, and it is further provided that men shall commence their day's work within a certain reasonable distance of London Bridge, or be paid for the additional travelling time necessary.

In the practical carrying out of these conditions, a certain amount of give and take has been allowed on some points, such as the question of overtime, but the principle that one job should constitute a night's work has been strictly adhered to, and is greatly valued by the men. Formerly a night represented so many hours, and a man could be moved from one task to another to finish out the time, but now one job, if it only lasts an hour, entitles the man to his 4*s*, and though, of course, the work is so regulated that this seldom happens, the system must always involve occasional opportunities of this character for the men, whilst under ordinary circumstances the advantage obviously will be often on their side and rarely against them. Sometimes the men will take a job at an agreed price, but if they are employed by time they are never paid less than the full day or night's work, as the case may be. On the whole, the general tendency is to employ a man for a complete day or night, paying him 6*s* in either case, and avoiding the short periods of overtime.

Regarding actual earnings, it is very difficult to form a just idea owing to the intermittent nature of the work. Those who get practically regular work undoubtedly do well, as in addition to their 36*s* a week for day work, there will usually be one or two nights' pay to draw. But the majority do not have constant work, and may earn £4 one week and hardly anything the next. Such returns as we have point to £2. 2*s* as the average earnings of a large number, and this is confirmed by the opinions of some of

the men themselves, who have estimated earnings as follows:—

10 per cent. are foremen and others at high regular wages—£3 and over.

60 per cent. average about £2. 2*s* to £2. 5*s* (mostly earned irregularly).

20 per cent. have precarious work, and average much less than above.

10 per cent. are practically unemployed.

Among the quite precarious class are a certain number of men who row about the river in a boat on the chance of getting a job of any kind, going to the aid of vessels which are undermanned or need temporary help of any kind, effecting timely rescues, hauling out dead bodies, or picking up more or less unconsidered trifles.

As will already have been gathered, hours of work are long. An ordinary full week consists of seventy-two hours, and there are frequent spells of night work; so that for a man to work ninety or one hundred hours a week is not uncommon. Of course, it does not follow that actual physical exertion is required for all this time; there may be long periods of waiting and watching, and where two persons are in charge of a barge, they may take it in turns to obtain snatches of rest and sleep. But still the men must be always at their post, and much discomfort attends their efforts at repose in the small, rough, ill-ventilated, and sometimes damp cabins, in which they must lie in their often wet clothing. Even when not at work, the irregularly employed man must wait about the City till 8 o'clock in the evening on the chance of an order, and naturally comes the habit of spending the waiting time in public-houses. Never knowing when work may turn up, it is very difficult to make arrangements for the wise use of leisure, and so, if no job offers, the men usually drift back to the friendly ale-house to finish up the evening. In this respect lads are just as badly off as men. Frequently they

are employed to act as watchers of craft, and it is not a rare thing for a new apprentice to work seven nights or more at a stretch in this way.

Irregularity and overtime (or night work) are, to some extent, necessary features in an occupation which is subject to tides, wind, and weather; but besides this there is, on the whole, a shrinkage of employment—not because of any falling off in the amount of work to be done, but owing to improved methods and machinery (particularly in the shape of steam tugs), which more than keep pace with a steadily growing demand. Elderly men here, as in most trades, are the greatest sufferers from this cause. In spite of a tendency to consumption, lightermen are a fairly hale and longlived body of men, and the older among them are handicapped, not so much from failure of capacity, as from a growing preference for young men.

Employment is most brisk in the winter, partly on account of the coal trade, and partly because the work is harder and takes longer to do when the elements are unpropitious. And so, unlike most occupations (*e.g.* the building trades), unfavourable weather may mean favourable opportunities for the men, increasing the general chances of work, whilst not affecting adversely the earnings of those already in employment. This is because the latter do not, as a rule, have to cease work, but keep on as well as they can, and the extra men taken on share their labour, but not their wages.* These remarks will not, of course, apply to such exceptional conditions as were experienced in the

* For example, two lightermen who are regularly employed by or have a preference of work at a particular firm are sent to deliver a heavy cargo. Ordinarily they would do the journey in, say, four hours, but owing to the weather it takes them double that time to complete their task, and so, being on time-work, they get eight hours' pay for it instead of four. Meanwhile, other work is waiting, and they not being back, it is given to extra men, who also get paid for the actual time the work occupies. In another case, two men will be sent in bad weather, where, under more favourable conditions, one would suffice.

winter of 1894-5, when the river was frozen over for weeks, and all work thereon brought to a standstill.

To sum up the economic position of the men, it may be said that on the whole their earnings are high as wages go for river work, and they no doubt have periods of good fortune, when a considerable sum is easily gained; but taking into consideration the long hours, tedious intervals of waiting, and the often difficult and sometimes dangerous nature of their work, coupled with its discomforts and inconveniences, the men are no doubt fairly entitled to all they get, and, some may be inclined to think, to a little more.

Watermen.

The licensed watermen, whose duty it is to convey passengers on the river, are a fast declining body of men—"young" and "jolly" no longer—the multiplication of ferries and bridges having greatly limited the amount of work obtainable by them. They are now principally to be found on the river steamers, or rowing Cockney trippers at Richmond, Twickenham or Teddington; but a few still ply for hire in the neighbourhood of the docks and wharves below the Tower Bridge, or at other points near by. These latter more generally own their boats, and pick up an indifferent livelihood, principally by rowing officers, stevedores and others to and from vessels which lie anchored in the river.

The men employed by the Victoria Steamboat Association on the short river trips, between Greenwich and Hampton Court, or intermediate places, are, as already intimated, all licensed watermen, and their conditions of employment were determined in 1894, by an award of the London Labour Conciliation and Arbitration Board. The men, about one hundred and fifty in number, are usually engaged

for the season, lasting from May till October, and wages are as follows :—

Captains	50*s* a week.
Mates	33*s* ,,
Deck Hands	30*s* ,,
Engine Drivers	45*s* ,,
Firemen	30*s* ,,

The week is one of seventy-two hours, whether worked on week-days or Sundays, but no man is bound to work for more than six days a week, and is entitled to one Sunday off in seven. Any time worked above the seventy-two hours is paid for at the same rate, except that after fourteen hours' consecutive work time and a half is allowed. Meals are taken on board in the course of work, and so any time occupied in eating is included in the average day of twelve hours. For casual men the day is always one of twelve hours, and pay for drivers is 7*s* 6*d*, firemen 5*s* 6*d*, and deck hands 6*s*, with extra rates for overtime. The men at Greenwich Ferry are paid at the same rates, but their hours are not quite so long. In the winter time many of the steamboat men obtain work on coal vessels.

Steam Tug Work.—Improved machinery in the lighterman's work has largely taken the form of steam tugs, which have greatly increased of late years, and have, as already stated, been the means of displacing a considerable amount of manual labour. There are three reasons for this —in the first place much larger barges can be towed than could be navigated in any other way, and this has led to the building of barges, having double the former carrying capacity; secondly, only one hand is required on board these towed barges where at least two would be needed for manual navigation; thirdly, this one hand may be an apprentice, whereas fully trained men would probably be employed for hand-work. A tug is allowed to tow half a dozen barges, irrespective of size, and a usual practice is to

have one or two competent men to look after the cargo, with the assistance of four or five licensed apprentices.

The ordinary complement of a tug is a captain, paid about £2. 10*s* to £3 a week; a mate at 30*s* to 36*s*; an engine driver at 35*s* to 40*s*, and fireman at 25*s* to 28*s*. The two former must be licensees of the Watermen's Company, but not so the others. The majority of the boats have two crews, and work the men on twelve-hour shifts, but in many other instances work is continued for very long and irregular periods, sleep being obtained while lying at piers, &c., and meals taken as opportunity offers. In such cases extra money is sometimes paid for overtime, but more often not.

Non-freemen.

The spirit of the age is opposed to monopoly in general, and to that of an industrial character in particular. Any privilege which is likely to interfere with that free intercourse and exchange which are the life of trade must be jealously watched and circumscribed, and this is evidently the feeling which has actuated those whose duty it has been to interpret the ancient statutes which control the work of navigating the Thames. And so it comes about that legislation which was probably intended to give entire jurisdiction to one body (the Watermen's Company) admits of such a narrow reading as to leave loopholes through which pours quite a large supply of non-privileged labour. Thus the various docks have been constructed since the date of the Acts which confirmed the Company's powers; and so, for the purposes of these Acts, are held to form no part of the river, and not only the work of these and of the canals, but also the bringing down of craft from above Windsor, and the loading or watching of vessels on any part of the waterway are open to non-freemen, who in short, may do anything except actual navigation within the reserved area. As a natural consequence a considerable

number of men (estimated at about three thousand in London) have arisen to compete for this outside work, and, being willing to do it more cheaply than the licensed men, have secured almost as complete a hold of it as has the freeman over the labour of his own particular "preserve."

Regarding hours and general method of work the non-freeman differs but little from the licensed man, being employed usually by the master lighterman, but as to wages he is at a very palpable disadvantage, 4*s* or 4*s* 6*d* a day and 3*s* to 3*s* 6*d* a night being his recognized rates of pay, as against the 6*s* of the freeman. A few fortunate men have regular work at good wages of £2 or more per week, but mostly the non-freemen are the creatures of ever-changing circumstances, fluctuations caused by the elements or by the general condition of trade conducing to long spells of work followed by longer periods of idleness, and £1 is considered by some of the men themselves to be not below the average weekly takings of the bulk of them.

Probably the better paid of the non-freemen are those at work on the canals, particularly the drivers of the horses, who are said to have shown greater capacity for organization than the other branches of the men. Canal boatmen usually work by the piece.

Trade Organization.

There is an association of Master Lightermen and Barge-owners, representing about a hundred firms, and the foreman lightermen have a small society of their own. The men are represented by the Amalgamated Society of Watermen and Lightermen, which, apart from the Watermen's Company (in itself not unlike a very powerful trades union), is the only organization connected with the employed in this section. Two or three efforts have been made to organize the non-freemen, and for a time with success, but ultimately the societies have failed. The last one, founded

at the period of the Dock Strike of 1889, lasted about five years, having at one time more than a thousand members. The tug boatmen have also had their trade union, but it has shared the common fate.

The Amalgamated Society of Watermen and Lightermen, founded in 1872, is a unique instance of an organization confined entirely to licensed men, every member being also a freeman or apprentice of the Watermen's Company. It has a financial membership of nearly three thousand, and there are perhaps another thousand on the books, men who have neglected to pay up, but most of whom would probably stand by the society in the event of any serious difficulty.

The society has twenty-one branches, and for some years its funds were centralized, nearly all the business being transacted from one general office. Of late, however, the constitution has been remodelled, and the branches are now divided into three districts, each having a council composed of delegates from the branches, and a paid officer who acts as secretary. Supreme power is vested in a general conference, consisting of delegates from the district councils and the district officers, and this conference selects one of the district officers to act as general secretary.

The entrance fee is for freemen 5*s*, for licensed apprentices 2*s* 6*d*; the subscription 3*d* per week, and 6*d* a quarter is charged for management expenses and benevolent fund. The benefits are legal assistance where considered desirable, strike pay (amount not fixed) and death allowance of £7 for a member, and £3. 10*s* for member's wife.

The society took an active part in securing the award as to wages and hours already referred to, but, as a rule, its efforts have not been chiefly devoted to these questions, but to two other points, viz. (*a*) Attempts to obtain representation on the court of the Watermen's Company; (*b*) Legal action to maintain intact the exclusive privileges of its members, and enforce strict adherence to the byelaws of the company.

In the former case a considerable sum of money has been spent in fostering agitation and promoting Bills in Parliament to secure the popular election of the court by the freemen of the company, but without any direct success. Deference has, however, so far been shown to the wishes of the men, that three members of the society have been selected by the court itself to be members of their body. But the men are by no means satisfied with this co-optation of those who are not the most likely to be in sympathy with their general aspirations, and further action has only been deferred because funds are exhausted.

Under the second heading the society has spent large sums in endeavouring to restrict apprenticeship, or to ensure the strict fulfilment of the byelaws, with the object of limiting, as far as possible, the number of workers and of increasing the amount of work to be done. Their leaders complain of the laxity of the court of the company in regard to these matters, and it is easy to understand how divergent would be the views of the two bodies on such questions; the men on the one hand, urged on by the pressure of their unemployed, anxious in every way to add to the amount of work to be shared; the court on the other hand, composed mainly of employers, and not so ready to give effect to the strictest letter of the law, but holding rather that the statutes must, in the interests of the trade of the port, be interpreted in a "reasonable spirit." Such a direct antagonism of interest must almost inevitably involve some friction. Doubtless the men are, in some cases, justified in their action, but regarding others, it is for them to consider if it is quite wise to insist too rigidly on old laws, which are not altogether adapted to modern ways. Their monopoly partakes of the character of an anachronism at the present date, and without some measure of discreet forbearance is not likely to last.

Social Condition.

Of the 4825 adult employed males in this section, about 3680 are heads of families and come under classification. As is shown in the following table, about one-third of these families live under crowded conditions, and for this result the irregularity of the employment is mainly responsible.

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Lightermen).

2 or more persons to a room	1900, or 10 per cent.	} Crowded 37 °/₀	
2 and under 3 ,,	4950 ,, 27 ,,		
1 ,, 2 ,,	5800 ,, 31 ,,	} Not crowded 63 °/₀	
Less than 1 ,,	5950 ,, 32 ,,		
More than 4 rooms			
4 or more persons to 1 servant			
	18,600 ,, 100 ,,		
Employers' families and servants	950		
	19,550		

PART V.—LABOUR.

DOCK, COAL, GAS, AND OTHER LABOUR.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

We here deal with more employed males than in any other chapter. There are a few females included, but they seem out of place, consisting of women who have called themselves "artisans," or "factory labourers," or "warehouse women," or "messengers."

Persons represented: (A) Census Enumeration.

Enumerated by Age and Sex.

	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65.	Total.
Males	16,750	32,576	23,813	102,192	12,642	4695	192,668
Females	864	1864	781	995	112	46	4662
Total.....	17,614	34,440	24,594	103,187	12,754	4741	197,330

The proportionate number of heads of families is not large, being only 94,333. The members of their families add up to 425,328, as follows:—

Persons represented : (B) Enumeration by Families.

No.	Sections.	Heads.	Total number (excluding Servants).	Per family (excluding Servants).	Servants.
69	Dock and wharf service	1620	7893	4·87	249
70	Dock labour.....	9602	43,377	4·52	20
71	Coal porters.....	3243	15,485	4·78	14
72	Gasworks service	4358	21,091	4·84	72
73	Warehousemen, messengers, &c.	17,715	75,799	4·27	473
74	General labour	44,551	199,672	4·48	103
75	Factory labourers	3544	15,680	4·43	10
76	Engine drivers, artisans	9700	45,109	4·65	281
	Total	94,333	424,106	4·49	1222
	Servants		1222		
	Total population		425,328		

The 1222 servants attend upon 4484 persons, leaving about 420,000 who wait upon themselves or on each other. Of the small servant-keeping class, 2900 have one servant to four or more of those served, 1100 have one servant for some smaller number in family, or two servants to four or more persons, and 400 others live in families with two or more servants.

Turning to the 420,000 who keep no servants, we find only 80,000 who occupy more than four rooms per family, or who have more rooms than there are members in family; next there are 115,000 who live one and under two to a room, 129,000 who live two and under three to a room, 55,000 three and under four to a room; and, finally, 39,000 who are living four or more to a room, as is shown in the following table :—

Lower Classes.	4 or more persons to 1 room	38,925	9·2 °/₀	19·5 °/₀	Crowded: 52·5 °/₀
	3 and under 4 „ „	55,033	10·3 °/₀		
	2 and under 3 „ „	128,922	33·0 °/₀		
	1 and under 2 „ „	115,387	27·2 °/₀		Not Crowded: 47·5 °/₀
Central Classes.	Less than 1 person to a room	11,375	2·7 °/₀	19·8 °/₀	
	More than 4 rooms	69,980	16·4 °/₀		
	4 or more persons to 1 servant	2938	·7 °/₀		
Upper Classes.	Less than 4 persons to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	1158	·2 °/₀		
	All others with 2 or more servants	388	—		
	Servants	1222	·3 °/₀		
		425,328	100 °/₀		

Social condition (by Sections).

Sections.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to 1 servant.	Less than 4 persons to a servant.	Servants.	Total.
Dock service.....	632	1427	2026	3413	395	249	8142
Per cent.....	7½	17½	25	42	5	3	100
Dock labourers...	12,296	14,792	10,646	5616	27	20	43,397
Per cent.....	28½	34	24½	13	—	—	100
Coal porters	4639	5266	3553	2025	2	14	15,499
Per cent.....	30	34	23	13	—	—	100
Gasworks service	2996	6281	6214	5515	85	72	21,163
Per cent.....	14	30	29	26	½	½	100
Warehousemen & messengers ...	13,628	20,818	22,078	18,585	690	473	76,272
Per cent.....	18	27	29	24½	1	½	100
General labourers	52,303	64,588	51,966	30,738	77	103	199,775
Per cent.....	26	32½	26	15½	—	—	100
Factory labourers	2216	4314	5318	3829	3	10	15,690
Per cent.....	14	27½	34	24½	—	—	100
Engine Drivers & Artisans	5248	11,436	13,586	14,572	267	281	45,390
Per cent.....	12	25	30	32	½	½	100

Changes since 1861 in Numbers Employed.

	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Dock and Wharf Service... Dock Labourers	14,300	10,800	12,400	2100 14,600
Coal Porters	3200	3000	3200	4800
Gasworks service	2900	3500	4000	5900
Warehousemen, Messengers	38,200	48,500	57,300	63,600
General Labourers	49,800	75,700	77,100	79,700
Factory Labourers	2100	3500	4800	8600
Factory engine-drivers and Stokers.....	—	3600	6000	6400
Artisans, Mechanics, &c. (undefined)	1100	2000	6600	11,600
Total	111,600	150,600	171,400	197,300

It is hardly possible that dock service and dock labour should absorb fewer men in 1871 and 1881 than in 1861, or that the number of those handling coal has remained stationary, while that of general labourers and warehousemen, &c., has increased 50 per cent., and that of factory labourers has more than doubled. It is therefore almost certain that many of those who returned themselves as labourers and warehousemen in 1871 and 1881 were occupied at the docks or wharves, and even the figures for 1891, though less open to criticism, can hardly be taken as correct. The truth is that the term "general labourer" covers a multitude of really distinct occupations. Those who do return themselves as dock labourers doubtless are employed in this way. The error will be entirely one of omission; and, as we shall presently see, there is reason to believe that the actual numbers who seek a living by labour at the docks is certainly not less than 20,000.

The numbers under the heading "warehousemen and messengers" include "porters," and it is possible that some of these may be in the service of the docks and wharves, but the greater proportion in this section are boys. Amongst these it is quite likely that there has been a great increase.

For "factory" labour, the figures given do not look improbable. The increase from 2100 to 8600 reflects a tendency which has been again and again exemplified in the account already given of different industries, the tendency of modern industry to replace skilled handiwork by machinery and by labour of a reliable though technically unskilled character. The large growth in the number of factory engine-drivers and stokers points in the same direction, but the explanation of the considerable increase in artisans, mechanics, &c., whose trade is undefined, is not so clear. It is to some extent accounted for by the inclusion of a good many female apprentices and improvers, but may also possibly indicate that another outcome of the decay of male apprenticeship is the multiplication of the man who is ready to "do anything."

CHAPTER I.

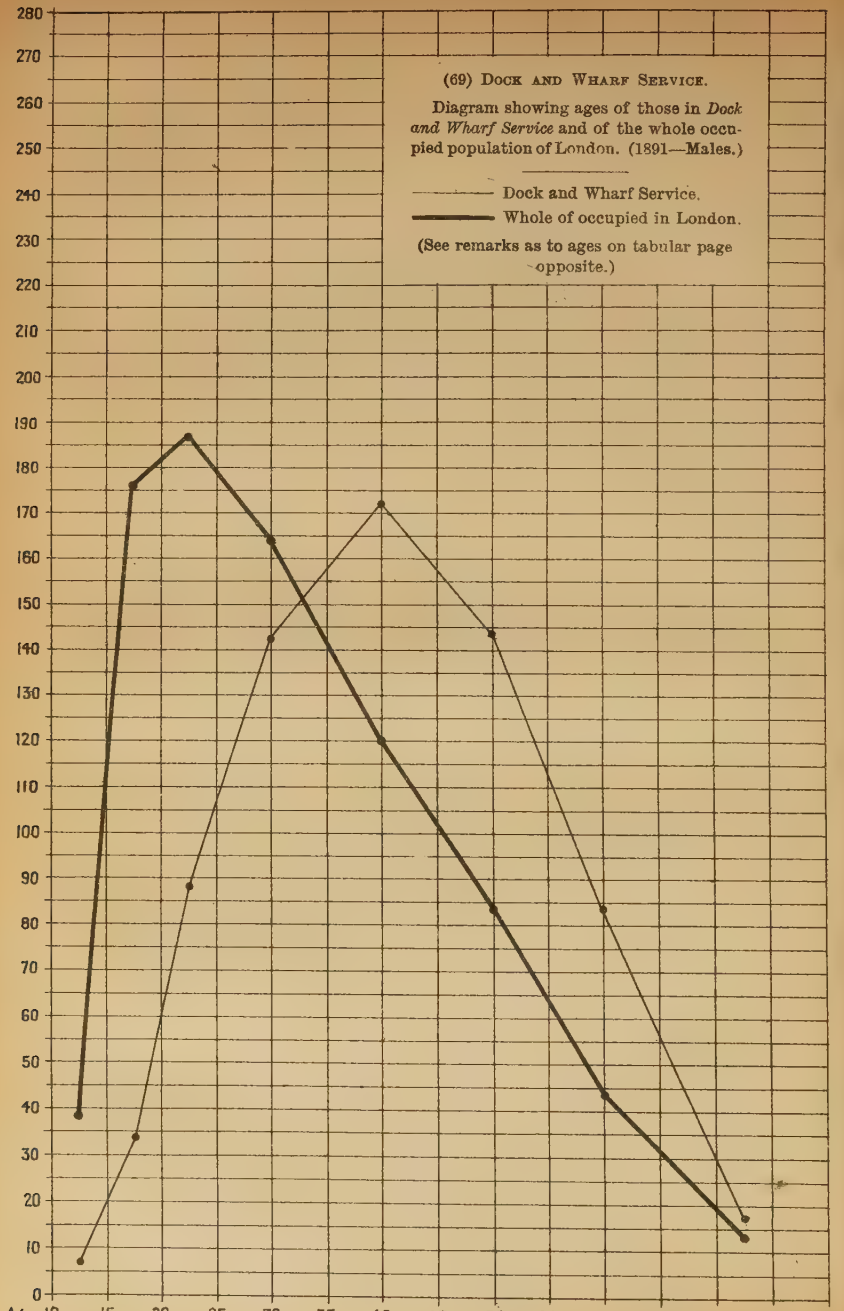
THE DOCKS AND WHARVES.

The employers in this industry are the dock companies and the wharf owners, the former comprising the London and India Docks Joint Committee, and the Surrey Commercial and Millwall Dock Companies, and the latter including about two hundred firms of wharfingers.

The "Joint Committee" represents the amalgamation for purposes of management of the London and St. Katherine and the East and West India Dock systems. With the East and West India are included the docks at Tilbury, and with the London and St. Katherine are the Victoria and Albert Docks. These extensions towards the mouth of the Thames were the result of competitive struggles between the two companies, and involved an immense, and partly unremunerative, expenditure of capital, which, combined with a stationary or shrinking trade, reduced the dividends of the proprietors to a very low ebb, and so brought about the policy of amalgamation.

The London Dock Companies are warehouse keepers and warehousemen as well as owners and managers of docks. The work they undertake connected with the care and handling of merchandise constantly extends. They skip and rack and blend, dilute or fortify; they clean and sort and sample; re-pack and re-mark; and protect from corrupting influences of moth and worm or rust—as well as simply discharge or load, receive, house and deliver—the goods that pass through their hands. It is the same and even more so with the wharves, which in many cases lay themselves out for the special handling and treatment of some particular merchandise, and in connection therewith are often owned or controlled by leading brokers.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



So great a variety of more or less responsible work requires an ual variety of more or less responsible labour, as will be fully gathered m the descriptive accounts which follow. In giving these descriptions has been found advisable, following the plan of the census, to deal, firstly, th the permanent staff of officials and servants, and secondly, with the k and wharf labourers.

DOCK AND WHARF SERVICE. (*Section* 69.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

us Division, 1891.	Females	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
k Service	33	67	1640	356	2096

ne ages in this section are high, the abers employed reaching their maximum rty. (*See* diagram.)

Distribution.

	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
87	129	102	678	2096

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

bour master, pier master, marine superintendent, gate-keeper, bridgeman, boarding officer, ship's watchman, tug master or mate, ballast contractor or heaver, dock manager, wharfinger, labour master, warehouse-keeper, gauger, measurer, checker, sampler, dock foreman, diver, dredger, wreck raiser.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		1614	Heads of Families, 1620.
	Females		6	
Birthplace	In London	52%	844	
	Out of London..	48%	776	
Industrial Status	Employer	5%	78	
	Employed	94%	1519	
	Neither	1%	23	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	1620	1571	4702	249	8142
Average in family ..	1	·97	2·90	·15	5·02

Classification. *Numbers living in families.*

		%
3 or more to a room	632	7·8
2 & under 3 ,,	1427	17·5
1 & under 2 ,,	2026	24·9
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	3413	41·9
Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servants	221	2·7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	174	2·1
Servants	249	3·1
	8142	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	36 %	17 %	25 %
Not ,, ..	64 %	83 %	75 %

Distribution. *For full details see Appendix (Pt. V.).*

East ..	Inner	2146	4284
	Outer	2138	
North	Inner	20	502
	Outer	482	
West ..	Inner	105	368
	Outer	263	
Central	Inner	44	44
South-East	Inner	802	2322
	Outer	1520	
South-West	Inner	319	622
	Outer	303	
			8142

Inner 3436, or 42 %
Outer 4706, or 58 %

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Employers and employed are not separately stated in the census, but se returned are nearly all of the latter class.

Dock and Wharf Service.

Between "dock service," as an employment, and "dock labour" there lies a wide social gulf, expressed in the philosophy of clothes by the contrast between a smart uniform and the shabbiest threadbare mufti.

Of these dock and wharf servants (not indeed all dressed in uniform, but all regularly employed, year after year), the census counts 2096, of whom 1996 are adult males and 1620 figure as heads of families. The rates of wages of 1500 of them in the employ of the London and India Docks Joint Committee, are as given below:

Rank.	Number.	Rates of Wages.	
Foremen	424	30*s* to 50*s*	With Uniform.
Assistants	246	20*s* ,, 28*s*	
Junior Assistants	99	12*s* ,, 18*s*	
Police Sergeants	19	32*s* ,, 38*s*	
,, Constables	248	23*s* ,, 31*s*	
Barge Searchers	10	25*s* ,, 31*s*	
Foremen Firemen	2	32*s* ,, 35*s*	
Firemen	11	25*s* ,, 31*s*	
Masters of Tugs	11	38*s* ,, 42*s*	
,, ,, Derricks	4	42*s* ,, 50*s*	
,, ,, Dredgers	2	42*s* ,, 46*s*	
Mates of Tugs	18	32*s* ,, 36*s*	
,, ,, Derricks	4	32*s* ,, 36*s*	
,, ,, Dredgers	2	32*s* ,, 36*s*	
Foremen Dry Docks	2	50*s* and 60*s*	
Assistant Foremen Dry Docks	2	40*s*	
Lock Foremen	21	32*s* to 45*s*	
Transport Foremen	19	32*s* ,, 45*s*	
Boarding Foremen	13	32*s* ,, 38*s*	
Lockmen	172	27*s*	
Transport men	34	27*s*	
Deckhands, Tugs and Derricks	24	14*s* ,, 24*s*	
Tug Boys	10	8*s* ,, 10*s*	
Tacklemen	22	25*s* and 30*s*	
Gatemen	7	22*s* to 24*s*	
Engineers (Tug)	18	36*s* ,, 42*s*	
,, (Derrick)	4	36*s* ,, 42*s*	
Divers	4	50*s* to 60*s*	
Bridgemen	6	30*s* ,, 32*s*	
Chain Examiners	4	38*s* ,, 40*s*	
Deckhands (Dredgers)	6	27*s* ,, 28*s*	
Foremen Shipworkers	13	32*s* ,, 40*s*	
,, Quay Gangers	24	32*s* ,, 40*s*	
	1505		

Note.—A large number of dock officials, including clerks, messengers, and dock railway-men, are not returned under this section in the census, but are allotted to the specific headings of "clerk," "messenger," &c., and accordingly are excluded from this statement.

Dock service may be grouped broadly into two divisions. The upper division, which consists of salaried officials paid monthly, is recruited by lads from outside or by transference from the lower division, a written examination having in either case to be undergone before admission. The lower division comprises permanent servants in receipt of weekly wages, of whom there are four or five classes. Starting usually as messengers, the boys are, at sixteen or seventeen years of age, promoted to be junior assistants at a wage of 12*s* a week, and rise by yearly increments to a maximum, as assistants, of 28*s*, when they are eligible to become, as opportunity offers and fitness is shown, fourth-class foremen or writers, at a salary of 30*s*. From this point promotion proceeds as follows :—3rd class, maximum 36*s*; 2nd class, maximum 42*s*; 1st class, maximum 48*s* in docks, 50*s* in town warehouses. Wages in each class increase at the rate of 2*s* a week per annum until the maximum is attained, and promotion takes place as vacancies occur. Not unfrequently men are raised to the fourth or the third class before they have served their full time in the grade immediately below, and in such cases they start in the new class at the top wage of the rank they have just left. Increments of pay are occasionally granted at the discretion of the directors as a reward for good conduct.

Hours of work, including half an hour for dinner, are from 8 A.M. to 4.30 P.M. each week-day in summer, and 9 to 4.30 in winter, but the men, more particularly foremen, are required to go on for as long afterwards as may be necessary. For this there is no extra payment, but compensative time is allowed in lieu thereof, so that a man working all night would be entitled subsequently to a day off. A small sum is also given him for meals. Overtime work is confined almost entirely to the loading or discharging of steam-vessels, and so varies considerably at the different docks. At the Victoria and Albert, where several lines of steam-vessels are entered, the men are sometimes at work for three

nights in a week, whilst at the London and St. Katharine's there is very little overtime, only a small number of steam-vessels coming so far up the river. So great is the value of time in the management of ships that, although overtime is made very expensive to the shipowners, they still commonly resort to it. All the men on the permanent staff of the Dock Company are allowed the usual statutory holidays, as well as the Queen's birthday, which is always loyally observed at the docks, and besides this are granted an annual period of leave varying in the case of weekly wage earners from three days to twelve days, and for salaried officials from twelve to thirty days, without stoppage of pay. In case of illness, full pay is allowed to salaried officials, and halfpay to weekly servants.

In the service of the Joint Committee, a scheme of superannuation prevails, 2½ per cent. being deducted from the wages of each member of the staff for this purpose. The money so obtained is invested in the names of trustees, and will so remain until a sufficient amount has been accumulated to pay, with the current deductions from wages, all future pensions, the Joint Committee meanwhile paying any pensions which fall due.

Superannuation commences ordinarily at sixty-five years of age, and the amount of pension is fixed at one-sixtieth of the salary the recipient was getting at date of retirement for each year of completed service on the permanent staff. Thus a man earning £2 a week on retirement after thirty years' service, would have a pension of £1 a week.

If superannuated before completing ten years' service, a proportionate gratuity may be given, and a man resigning is entitled to be repaid one-half of the amount paid in by him; but if he is dismissed from the service, or resigns in order to escape dismissal, he forfeits all the money paid in.

The Joint Committee may reduce or increase the amount of superannuation in exceptional cases, and in the event of

death may make an allowance from the fund to surviving relatives.

Any question not provided for by the rules is also decided entirely by the Joint Committee, who seem, on the whole, to possess in this deed exceptional powers over their staff. The agreement appears, however, to have worked quite smoothly so far.

Organization.—The only trade society connected with this section is the Association of Foremen and Clerks of the Docks, Wharves, and Warehouses of London, which consists principally of the lower division servants (permanent weekly wage staff) of the Joint Committee, and has now about 250 financial members. It was formed at the time of the dock strike, 1889, chiefly in resistance to an attempt to compel these men to join the Dockers' Union. The promoters obtained permission from the Joint Committee to form the society, and, while remaining loyal to their employers, took the opportunity of securing that certain little grievances of their own should be remedied. Since this time they have worked amicably with the Dock Company. Entrance fee is 2*s* 6*d*, and contributions 8*d* per month. Monetary assistance is granted to members unemployed, unjustly dismissed, or incapacitated by accident, and legal assistance in business matters. On the death of a member £5 is paid to the widow or other relatives.

The society is represented on the Arbitration and Conciliation Boards of London Chamber of Commerce, and in any case of dispute proceeds strictly by arbitration.

Social Condition.—This section, consisting almost wholly of permanently employed persons, our table of persons represented (p. 393) shows, as might be expected, the bulk of those included to be in comfortable circumstances. Even so, however, one-fourth live under crowded conditions, and a further 25 per cent. live one and under two to a room. Of the remainder 42 per cent. are of the central class, and 5 per cent. are keepers of servants.

DOCK AND WHARF LABOUR. (*Section* 70.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
Dock Labour	—	791	12,045	1726	14,562

The age curve in this section shows a larger proportion of middle-aged and elderly men than might be expected. This is mainly because there are no boys employed. The numbers reach a maximum at 30, but fall away rapidly after 40. (*See* diagram.)

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
8743	280	383	5156	14,562

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Dock porter, corn porter, quay labourer, shed man, riverside labourer, wharf labourer, crane man, stage man, lumper, stevedore, ballast trimmer, ship keeper, ship worker.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		9602	Heads of Families 9602
	Females		—	
Birthplace	In London	66 %	6311	
	Out of London	34 %	3291	
Industrial Status	Employer	½ %	54	
	Employed	99 %	9494	
	Neither	½ %	54	

Total Population Concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total
Total	9602	8392	25,383	20	43,38
Average in family ..	1	·88	2·64	—	4·52

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Pt. V.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	12,296	28·4
2 & under 3 ,,	14,792	34·1
1 & under 2 ,,	10,646	24·5
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	5616	12·9
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	27	·1
All others with 2 or more servants ..	—	—
Servants	20	—
	43,397	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	63 %	61 %	62½ %
Not ,, ..	37 %	39 %	37½ %

Distribution.

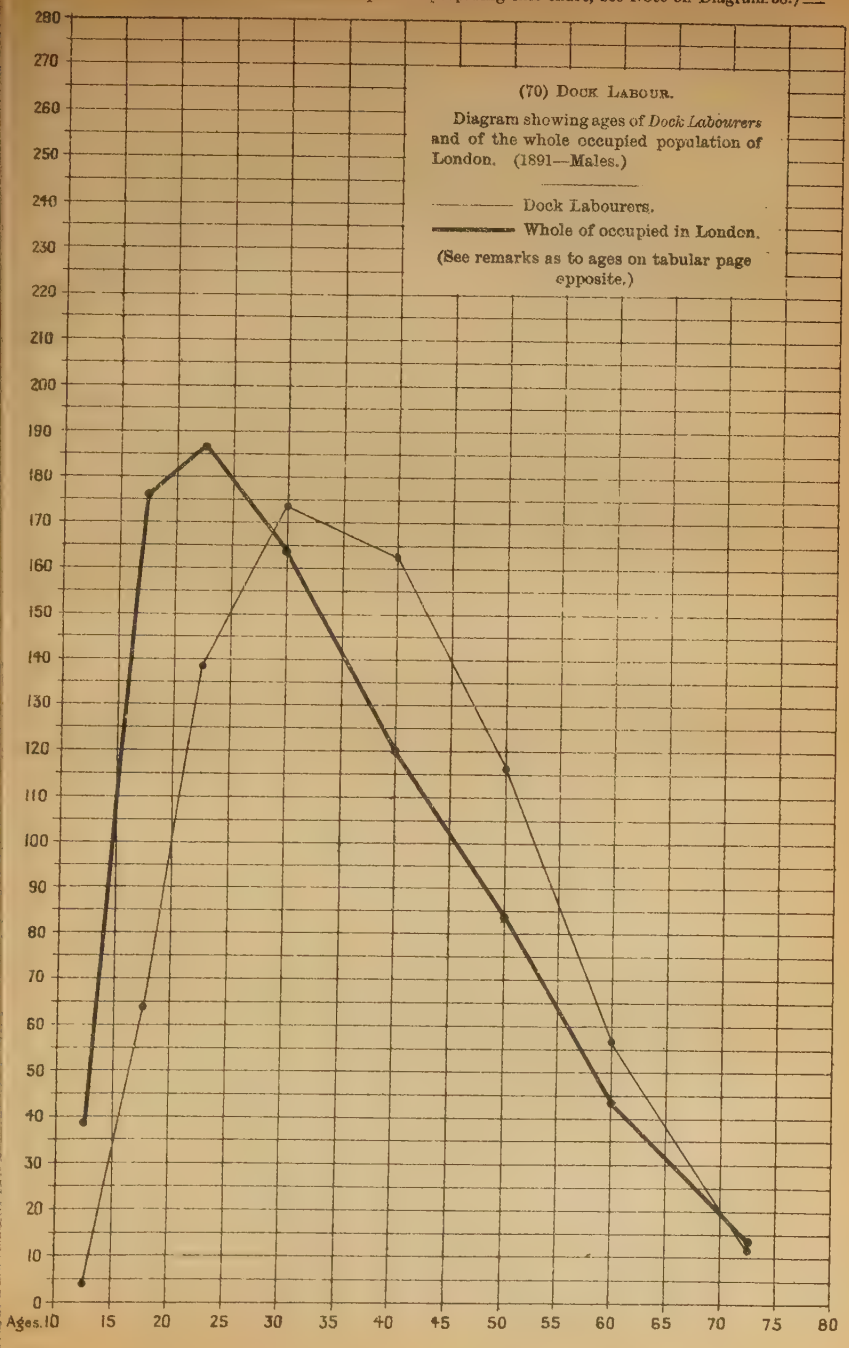
East ..	Inner 16,701	Outer 9898	26,59
North	Inner 74	Outer 783	8
West	Inner 87	Outer 233	32
Central Inner	725		7
South-East	Inner 7452	Outer 3964	11,41
South-West	Inner 2948	Outer 532	34
			43,3

Inner 27,987, or 65%
Outer 15,410, or 35%

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Practically speaking, this section consists entirely of employe males.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



Dock Labour.

In 1887, when dock employment was considered by us as a principal East End industry, the position was found to be very hopeless as well as very unsatisfactory (*vide* Vol. IV., pp. 12-36; or Vol. I. of original edition). The employers were content, and the men, though far from content, were entirely unorganized. The dock managers accepted the crowd and struggle at the dock gates as an inevitable phenomenon, which happened to fit in well with the conditions of their trade. They could always be sure of sufficient labour, and though its quality might be bad, its pay was correspondingly low. The character of the men matched well with the character of the work and that of its remuneration. All alike were low and irregular. The vicious circle was complete. How should it be broken?

In 1892 all this was changed.* The unions, founded under the greatest difficulties in 1888, had a remarkable career; and if some mistakes were made, and some hopes disappointed, there remains a foundation on which much may yet be built, and an inspiring record. What the men have achieved through organization is not to be measured solely by advantages obtained in pay or the conditions of employment. By organization they step into line with other more highly skilled and more highly paid labour, and so acquire a position of the utmost practical value. We see the effect of this in the changed attitude of the employers as to casual employment. It is now generally admitted by them that more regular work makes better labourers, and that better labourers are more satisfactory servants even at higher pay.

* The account of dock labour which follows was prepared first in 1892, and embodied in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in that year.

Riverside labour consists of the following branches:—

I. Import through the docks.
   (1.) Discharging from on board ship in dock.
   (2.) Receiving on quay and passing into warehouse.
   (3.) Receiving and stowing into lighters.
   (4.) Handling in warehouse.

II. Import through the wharves.
   (Subject to the same subdivisions as the dock work.)

III. Import "over side" from ships lying in the stream.
   (The men so employed are termed "ship-workers," and undertake also the loading of coasting vessels.)

IV. Export work (both dock and wharf).
   Handling goods on quay in preparation for the stevedores.

V. Stowage of cargo (export) by stevedores.

VI. Lighterage of goods.

VII. Handling of coals and ballast (dock, wharf, or stream).
   (1.) Discharging coal.
   (2.) Loading coal as cargo (by stevedores).
   (3.) Coaling steamers.
   (4.) Ballast heaving.

VIII. Handling of ships in port.
   (1.) Tug boatmen.
   (2.) Ship scrapers and painters.
   (3.) Riggers and shore gang men.
   (4.) Sailors in port.

The men called "dockers" belong only to the first four of these groups. Divisions V to VII (lightermen, porters, &c.) consist of distinct bodies of men whose work, though partly interchangeable with that of the dockers, and closely interdependent, is mostly better organized and better paid, and to some extent more skilled. The work and condition of these men is separately described elsewhere.

The labour employed by the dock companies may be considered in two divisions: (1) that of the "Joint Committee," including the London and St. Katharine, East and West India, Victoria and Albert, and Tilbury Docks, and some warehouses in town; (2) that of the

Millwall and Surrey Commercial Docks, which, though on opposite sides of the river, are alike devoted principally to the handling of grain and timber.

Wharf labour may be similarly divided, the men who handle grain and timber being of a different class from the rest, with special aptitude for this work, and a higher rate of pay. The work, however, is not to be obtained all the year round, and those who do it are for the most part unaccustomed to seek any other employment. Some of the grain and timber men, and some of the steamship workers, receive wages as high, and in some cases even higher, than the stevedores (who have 8*d* an hour), and at this point the spheres of work overlap a little, the Stevedores' Union having one branch consisting of men engaged in the discharge of timber, while some stowage is undertaken by shipworkers.

The "import over side" work (III) is engaged and paid for by the owners of vessels lying in the stream to be discharged, these being often also wharf owners; at the Surrey Commercial Docks the shipowners in some instances contract direct with stevedores for the discharge of their cargoes, and at the Victoria and Albert Docks, and in one instance at the St. Katharine's Docks, the shipowners now provide the labour on board and on quay for discharging; otherwise all the labour in Divisions I to IV is engaged and paid by the dock and wharf owners.

I.—*Organization of the Men.*

In early times the work of the port, then confined to wharves near London Bridge, was in the hands of privileged societies under the jurisdiction of the City; but with the extension of the docks eastward this system broke down. The abolition of the corn laws brought large imports of grain to the Thames, and the famine in Ireland, happening about the same time, supplied a large number of needy labourers, who, coming to London, obtained possession of much of the work of handling heavy merchandise, such as

grain and timber. There was then no distinction between timber men or corn porters and other dock work, nor between loading and unloading; and all alike was ill paid. But these distinctions began to creep in as the rates of pay rose; the masters refusing to pay the higher rates for the easier or less skilled branches of the work.

After the marked rise of pay secured by the unions established in 1872, the distinction grew sharper, and the men engaged in specially skilled work, as for instance the stowage of cargo and the unloading of grain and timber, became close corporations in the midst of a mass of unorganized labour. For it was only where skill or the great physical strength required provided a natural barrier against competition that the unions were successful. Thus the General Labour Protection League, established in 1872, with a large number of branches on both sides of the river, practically broke up, only six branches remaining in existence, five of stevedores on the north side of the river, who have continued as the Amalgamated Stevedores' Labour Protection League, and one of corn porters on the south side, which afterwards formed the nucleus of the present South Side Labour League.

In 1888-89 there was a second general upheaval of river-side labour, culminating in the great dock strike of August, 1889, which spread over all classes of dock labour on both sides of the Thames, and affected, by way of "sympathy," most of the inter-connected trades. The strike on the north side was largely led by the stevedores' union, and that on the south side by the "over side corn porters," the leaders of these organizations being the most important components of the strike committees. As a result of the strike, the two existing unions arose, viz., the "Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Labourers' Union," and the "South Side Labour Protection League." The latter was a revival of the old league to which the overside corn porters belonged, and, like the old league, is a decentralized federation of branches which are almost self-governing.

The Dockers' Union, on the other hand, like that of the stevedores, is a centralized organization, and has followed the example of the Amalgamated Engineers in the method of its spread to other parts of the kingdom.

Under the same impulse the stevedores, while retaining their special organization, widened its sphere of action so as to include in one union all the members of the trade; and the unions of lightermen, "coalies," &c., filled up their ranks; so that for a time nearly the whole labour of the port was included in some organization or other. But two attempts made to federate all the riverside industries were unsuccessful.

Under the excitement of the great strike, many who were loafers rather than labourers joined the Dockers' Union and South Side League, thus unduly exaggerating the numbers on the roll. When the strike was over and work began, those who had joined only to claim "strike pay" fell out. That is, they did not pay, or did not long continue to pay, the 2*d* a week demanded by the union. Over such as were not really dock labourers at all, the union had no power, and to get rid of them was gain rather than loss. Upon those who actually worked at the riverside, sufficient pressure could be and at first was exercised, by inspection of "cards," to keep them in the union, whether heartily willing or not. But owing to changes adopted in the method of engaging men at the docks, this power was lost, excepting at the Millwall Dock, at a few of the wharves, and with some lines of steamships, where the employers have been willing to co-operate with the union. The general result has been a great falling off in the number of members.

It is not improbable that the two unions together had within the London District about 20,000 financial members at the beginning of 1890, when nearly all who were employed could be counted, against about 10,000 in 1892, and this number has fallen to about 7500 in 1895.*

* The present position of these unions is described on p. 430.

Even so, what remains represents a remarkable degree of organization, when the character of the men and the difficulties of the task are taken into consideration.

London Dock labourers for union purposes are characterized by a somewhat unmanageable mixture of English and Irish blood. The men are ultra-democratic in their demands for self-government, and at the same time cling with an absolute conservatism to old custom and local privileges. They are ever jealous of the authority of their leaders, who alternately coax and scold and threaten, and yet it would seem that on submission to discipline lies at every turn the only hope of organized success. Troublesome as were the discussions with the masters at the time of the strike, those between the men and their leaders were even more so, and, in this respect, the difficulties encountered after the battle had been won were greater than those met with during the strike or before it. Through all these difficulties, a way has been won. The position of the unions is not perfectly secure, but it has in it elements of hope.

II.—*Disputes.*

The main subjects of dispute, whether with the employers or between the men and their own leaders, have been: (1) the dinner hour, (2) contract work and the plus system, and (3) the position of non-unionists. Of these the first two are complicated by a tangle of old customs. The third, concerning the treatment of non-unionists, is more simple, as the only question is of expediency. Given the power, and there is no hesitation amongst unionists as to its use.

Payment for the dinner time is a very old custom. When the pay was 2*s* 6*d* for a day of eight hours, an interval of a few minutes was allowed for beer during the morning, and twenty minutes for dinner, or more properly for lunch, as the dock labourer makes his chief meal, tea

and dinner in one, when his work is done. These short hours fell in with the customs' regulations, and overtime when worked was paid at 4*d* an hour. On this plan the work at the docks, if ill paid, was fairly easy. In 1872 the men struck for and obtained 5*d* an hour in place of 2*s* 6*d* a day. The dinner time was still allowed by the employer, and the men thus received 3*s* 4*d* for the full day, but only 2*s* 11*d* in winter, when the day was usually seven hours. The overtime rate became 6*d*. The employers met this advance by taking every advantage of the hour system. Men were not engaged till wanted, and were paid off at any hour if the work was finished. Beyond this, steps were taken by various applications of the contract and plus systems to stimulate the men, so as to secure a full amount of work being done in each hour.

The "contract" system consisted of a bargain made with picked men, acting individually or in groups, who employed others at 5*d* an hour and took for their own remuneration the difference between the money they received, a price per ton, and the wages they paid away. The "plus" system, worked under the dock foremen, attempted to interest every labourer in the expedition of the work by undertaking to pay beyond the regulation 5*d* a further remuneration, based on a tonnage rate, fixed as for a contract. Wherever these systems could be applied they were adopted. It is not wonderful that they caused a good deal of heart-burning.

From the masters' point of view to "work" is for a man to do his best; to do otherwise is to be an idle fellow, taking money he has not earned. The men would be far from denying that there is such a thing as robbing the employer by loafing and idleness; but they recognize degrees of reasonable honest effort in work, and object, if it may so be put, to give sixpenny or sevenpenny work for 5*d*. The contract system was to them "sweating"—the slave-driving of small masters. It was a system which benefitted the dock company; and the contractors them-

selves might do very well; but the labourer saw no advantage to himself—he sweated that the others might profit.

The plus system, though seemingly more fair, was hardly more satisfactory. It lacked any sound basis, as the men had no voice in fixing the tonnage prices, nor insight into the calculations made, nor was the "plus" equally shared, the largest proportion going to the ganger, whose special interest it thus became to push on the others. Sometimes there would be nothing to divide and "nil" would be posted on the board; "old Nell got it all," as the men said. There resulted a feeling amongst the men that the whole thing was delusive—an evasive carrot tempting the poor donkey onwards. This grievance brought about a short strike in the London and India Docks, where chiefly the system applied, ending in the rule being made in 1885 that no labourer should receive less than 6*d* an hour for contract jobs or for work on the plus system. Many more men than enough could however be had at 6*d* an hour, and it was complained that, in the struggle, treating or bribing foremen in order to secure the privilege of work became common, if not customary.

The great strike followed in 1889, having for its objects the uniform 6*d* rate of pay, the minimum half day's wages (2*s*), and the abolition of contract. These points were won, but to gain them dinner time pay was abandoned.

We have already seen how, by the excitement of this strike, all riverside workers were brought into line. No sooner was it settled than the divergence of the interests involved became obvious; and the greatest difficulty was in regard to dinner time pay.

At the wharves, where the hours were 6 to 6, or 8 to 6, it had been usual to pay 5*s* for the long day and 4*s* 2*d* for the short day, being 5*d* an hour over the whole time. The men were allowed for meals one hour out of ten, or one and a half out of twelve. On the new system they were to get 6*d* in place of 5*d* an hour, but instead of gaining 10*d* or 1*s* on the day's work, the advantage, in consequence of

their receiving nothing for meal times, was reduced to 5*d* or 4½*d* a day. They had not understood—they thought their interests had been neglected—they would not stand it—they always had been paid for meal times and always would be. So they re-opened the fight at a large wharf, but were finally worsted by the introduction of outsiders engaged permanently on weekly pay.

Nor did the dockers like it altogether. They did not suffer quite so much, as their dinner time was shorter, and the other points in the settlement were of more advantage to them than to the wharf men. The old system of taking men on and discharging them short of half a day, had applied principally to the docks, and the contract work, to which objection had been taken, was entirely an affair of the docks.

Amongst those working at the different docks there was a similar clashing of interests. The grain and timber men, and the south side workers generally, complained that their interests had not been considered. In this case however the difficulty was settled amicably between the men and their employers.

It is to be remarked that whenever pay is drawn at a minimum or subsistence rate, with a plus to follow according to results, the question of the dinner hour loses its point, assuming there is anything to divide; for the extra wages paid would only reduce the amount to be distributed. When the settlement of 1889 was made, it was agreed that the work might, when desirable, be given to the men at a price per ton, and done under the joint supervision of dock officials and representatives of the men; but the plan did not succeed. Control over the men being nominally shared between the dock foremen and the representatives, was practically lost. The chance of obtaining more than 6*d* an hour by working hard was to many of the men less attractive than working easy at the minimum rate. The result was that they did not give "sixpennyworth of work" for the 6*d*. The representatives of the union could not make

their men work properly, but they could and did exclude non-union men from being taken on. There was thus a good deal of friction, and after twelve months' trial the system was put an end to in November, 1890. In place of it the joint committee now allow on most of the work a gratuitous plus over and above the 6*d* an hour. This they reckon in their own way, and all who work share in it equally. It varies from nothing to about 3*d* an hour, and even where the average earned is lowest, it more than pays for the dinner hour.

At Millwall direct contracts are taken by gangs of men and seem to work satisfactorily. One man in each gang is leader and spokesman, but all work and share alike. The gang of contractors employ some subordinate labour at 6*d* an hour. The work done in this way, handling grain and timber, has a special character.

As a substitute for both contract and plus, an attempt has been made to introduce strict co-operation, and where the conditions are simple, remarkable successes have been made. Yet even so the system does not spread, and seems more likely to die out. It does not seem possible at present to obtain out of the democratic organization of the men any practical working leadership which shall be able to make bargains, inspire confidence, and enforce discipline.

The last subject of dispute to which I have referred concerns the footing of non-unionists—the claims of free labour, the rights of "blacklegs."

Immediately after the settlement of 1889 there was trouble between union and non-union men, aggravated by very bitter feeling against the men who had been engaged to keep the work going during the strike. The unionists refused to work with non-unionists, and were able generally to enforce this rule. Some of the "blacklegs" left, some obtained permanent places, and some joined the union. This cause of dispute was consequently got over. The power of the union to enforce membership is now very

limited, and with the lack of this power has gone one fruitful cause of disputes. On this point there can perhaps never be a hearty agreement between employers and employed. No employer likes to be dictated to, or limited in his choice of those he employs; while the men will never abandon the desire to decide with whom they shall work, and if they have this power will always be tempted to use it to strengthen the weak-kneed and to coerce the unwilling, in the interests, real or supposed, of their organizations.

There was at first some friction between the Dockers' Union and the South Side League, but they now work together, and may be considered as representing jointly docker organization.

III.—*Numbers Employed.*

(1.) The whole work, organized or unorganized, is very irregular in character, being affected by the weather and many fortuitous circumstances, as well as by the seasons of the year, and by the occurrence of certain great sales held periodically each year in London. To find enough men at all times involves having many standing idle at other times, and even high rates of pay, such as are received by the men who handle grain and timber, do not produce a satisfactory average income, when little opportunity presents itself, and probably little effort is made, to find supplementary work.

Where organization is complete, as with lightermen, stevedores, and coal porters, the total numbers amongst whom the work is divided are fairly well known, but it is not so with regard to ordinary dock and waterside labour. We are, however, able to show what have been the actual numbers employed day by day in each important branch of the work for the year ending March 31st, 1892. This information, which was collected with the co-operation of the dock managers and wharf and steamship owners, is summarized in the table which follows:—

TABLE A.—*Number of Men Employed Daily (excluding Tilbury)*, 1891-92.

Where.	Maximum.			Minimum.			Average.	
	Date.	Number.	Addition.	Date.	Number.	Addition.	Number.	Addition.
London and St. Katharine's Docks ...	Feb. 5	3789	8224	Oct. 12	1249	3092	2302	5284
East and West India Docks	Jan. 7	2380		Nov. 11.....	619		1317	
Victoria and Albert Docks	Oct. 28	1107		July 1	611		865	
Town warehouses.....	Nov. 24.....	948		May 27	613		800	
TOTAL OF JOINT COMMITTEES' EMPLOYMENT (excluding Tilbury).....	FEB. 9	7781	—	Nov. 11.....	3553	—	—	—
Shipowners, Victoria and Albert Docks	Nov. 13.....	2091	7540	Oct. 19	562	3578	1322	5443
,, London Docks	Jan. 28	415		July 4	5		116	
North side wharves and warehouses (except town warehouses)	Sept. 29.....	3856		Dec. 24	2675		3277	
Millwall Dock	Nov. 14.....	1178		Feb. 8	336		728	
TOTAL OF OTHER NORTH SIDE EMPLOYMENT	Nov. 13.....	7034	—	DEC. 24* ...	4114	—	—	—
TOTAL NORTH SIDE.....	FEB. 9	13,305	—	Nov. 11.....	8008	—	—	10,727
Surrey Commercial Docks	July 11—17.	1802	5589	March 12–18	621	3222	1248	4448
South side wharves and warehouses...	Nov. 14.....	3787		June 30.....	2601		3200	
TOTAL SOUTH SIDE.....	Nov. 4	5410	—	MARCH 10 ...	3439	—	—	—
GRAND TOTAL	DEC. 3	17,994	21,353	DEC. 24* ...	11,967	9892	—	15,175

* The smallest number employed being in this case on Christmas Eve, it may be well to give the next smallest, March 15th, 4265, for "other north side"; or grand total, March 11th, 12,200.

Note.—Two firms of shipowners and a few of the minor wharves made no returns; the numbers omitted might amount to from 200 to 500 men.

It will be seen that the greatest number returned as employed on any one day (December 3rd, 1891) was 17,994, but the day of maximum employment differs in each division, so that taking the divisions as distinct labour markets, 21,353 men would be required to do the work. The number would be still larger if each small centre of employment were treated separately. The men are mostly known at, and attached to, some particular centre, having their names inscribed, perhaps, on some list which gives preference for employment; and sometimes, if well placed on this list, they will seek work nowhere else. It indeed follows that if they are well known at and constant to one department, they will be unknown at any other. But, within a certain range, there is a great deal of movement, the men flocking wherever work seems most likely to be had, and an imperfect adjustment is thus obtained, which makes it probable that the number of men needed under the present system, though more than the theoretic 18,000, will be less than the addition of the district maxima. The number will probably be somewhere between 18,000 and 22,000, and may be roughly estimated at 20,000. The number of those who regularly compete for the work is larger, and may perhaps amount to the full 22,000.

Joint Committee's Docks.—As to the employment offered at the docks managed by the Joint Committee there is, stated broadly, a deficiency of work from the end of April to the middle of November, and this is especially marked after the middle of July, though subject to a temporary rush of work at the end of September.

From July to September is the time of the harvest, and is also the time when the militia, to which many of the men belong, is in training. During these months very many men find work elsewhere. It will be less easy to find supplementary work in October and early in November, and again there will be little to fill up the deficiency shown in March.

At Tilbury, as over the rest of the dock system, more work is shown from December to March than during the rest of the year; but there are special depressions in May, June, and November not shared by the other districts as a whole. The irregularity of work at Tilbury is very marked, and if we may assume that those who seek their work here are numerous enough to do all that offers at the busiest time, and that they are for the most part out of reach of other chances, then it must follow that many of them are very often necessarily idle. I do not know to what extent men living in the London district go by train to work at Tilbury; or, living at Tilbury, come to work in the London district; but as the distance is great, it has seemed best to exclude Tilbury.

TABLE B.—*Particulars of Employment at the Docks under the Management of the Joint Committee (excluding Tilbury) in* 1891-2.

				Days.
	3750	men had work for		308—309
4000	250	additional men could have had work for		295—307
	250	,,	,,	279—291
	250	,,	,,	243—273
	250	,,	,,	213—240
5000	250	,,	,,	186—207
	250	,,	,,	148—179
	250	,,	,,	127—145
	250	,,	,,	91—118
6000	250	,,	,,	71— 89
	250	,,	,,	45— 62
	250	,,	,,	23— 42
	250	,,	,,	10— 17
7000	250	,,	,,	7— 9
	250	,,	,,	4— 7
	250	,,	,,	2— 3
7750	250	,,	,,	1— 2

ACTUAL RESULT.	Per Cent.
Work done by permanent men	32·2
Other (possible) constant work	35·1
Nearly constant work (necessary deficiency not more than 15 days)	8·4
Irregular work	24·3
	100·0

The foregoing table shows that the maximum number employed on any one day in 1891-92 in all branches of the work of the Joint Committee (excepting Tilbury), is 7750, but that on two days only was there work for more than 7500, on seven days only for any more than 7000, and on seventeen days only for more than 6500 men.

We have no certainty as to the number of men who make this work their regular business, but we may safely say that 6500 would be enough, as the 1000 to 1250 additional men who are at the most needed would undoubtedly be attracted to the docks at any time by the offer of work.

On the assumption then that 6500 men should take up this work for their livelihood, and have the "first call" for it, and that the surplus labour offering takes up dock work in the intervals of other employment, the figures would show that for the 6500 men, if all shared alike, there would be about four-fifths of full employment (or 250 days' work out of a possible 309). But they do not share alike. There are (1) the permanent men; (2) those having first preference (list A), all of whom are now engaged by the week; (3) the second preference (list B); and (4) the third preference (list C): and there may be others who, though not listed, are dock labourers by profession. Moreover, the number who seek their livelihood regularly at these docks is certainly more than 6500.

In the year under review the permanent men numbered 1780 at the outset, falling to 1630 at the close. The men on the A list beginning at 850, ended at 1200. Those on the B list increased from 2000 to 2500. Those on the C list—1300 to 1400 from April to November, 1891—rose to over 2000, and including a supplementary list to over 3000, receding later to between 2000 and 2500, at which figure the numbers stood at the end of March, 1892. [The supplementary list seems to have been connected with the wool sales, and probably contained names already listed elsewhere.]

Thus though the total number on the lists up to November, 1891, was from 6000 to 6500, the maximum reached in the winter of 1891-92 was 8500, and the year ends with a total of 8000. There seems no reason to suppose that any considerable number of men appear on more than one regular list, but it may be that the lists include some men who are not regular dock labourers, and are rather to be counted as belonging to some other trade working occasionally at the docks. The great increase in the number on the list during November, 1891, signalized the acceptance by the men of the list method, and it is improbable that there are now many men who seek work regularly at the docks whose names are not on one or other list.

The labour staff of the Joint Committee's Docks, though still (in 1895) consisting of the same divisions, has recently been placed on an improved footing. The permanent men are recruited from the A list, and in the event of such promotion half the time the men have been on the A list counts towards the period of service which entitles them to a pension. The A men are regular weekly servants and are under exactly similar conditions as to notice and holidays as the permanent men, but do not receive sick pay or pension. The B men are registered and each has a ticket corresponding with his number on the list. They are moved up and down according to regularity of attendance, having priority of work according to their position on the list. Each department has its own list and there are no less than forty-six departments.

The permanent and A men are shifted about from department to department or dock to dock as required, and must all be employed first. Then comes the turn of the B men; first, those attached to the particular department which is requiring extra help; secondly, those connected with any other department of the dock who may be in waiting; thirdly, those who are present from any other dock.

Finally, C men are engaged for such work as may remain. To facilitate this arrangement a notice is posted outside the various departments each afternoon stating the numbers of B men who will be required at that or any other department in the group of docks, London and St. Katharine's being a group for this purpose, East and West India and South Dock another, and Victoria and Albert a third. The notice is as follows :—

Nos. ... to ... required here.
,, ... ,, ... required at ——
mentioning any other department in the group. The men not required can then take their chance at either of the other groups.

There is a place of call for each dock, where the company has provided a shelter, and the men are taken on from here. The first call made is at 8 A.M., with a second if needed at 9 A.M. Then no more men are taken on till 1 o'clock, when the final call for the day is made. This rule is only broken in some case of special emergency.

In considering the division of the work amongst the various classes employed, the following supposititious table put forward in 1891-2 may be useful :—

	Men.	Days.	Days' Work.
Permanent men ...	1700	294 (309 days, less 5 per cent.)	= 499,800
First preference (A)	1000	278 (,, 10 ,,)	= 278,000
Second ,, (B)	2000	247 (,, 20 ,,)	= 494,000
Third ,, (C)	1800	195 (,, 37 ,,)	= 350,200
	6500	250 (average)	1,622,000
Occasional labour	1250	7	8,000
Maximum numbers	7750	210 (average)	1,630,000

Note.—309 days constitutes the full working year.

It will be seen that for the assumed numbers of each class an estimate for lost time was inserted: 5 per cent. for the permanent men, 10 per cent. for the A list, and

20 per cent. for the B list, leaving 37 per cent. loss to be borne by the C class if we limit their number to 1800, and treat the last 1250 men as taking on the average only 7 days each. If, however, we divide the third preference work amongst the residue of the listed men, all of whom may claim to be considered professional dockers, there would be only 106 days' work out of 309, or about one-third work for them, or, more accurately, from half to one-fourth work, as the percentage of loss of time no doubt rises from one end of the scale to the other.

This result was at the time put forward hypothetically. Since then the tendency has been to increase the number of the B men and increase also the strictness of the preference given them; with the result that though some of them are undoubtedly better off, their average earnings may not have been affected by much. Assuming that the total amount of employment has remained the same, whatever has been gained by the men on the B list has been lost by those on the C list and other outsiders—unless, indeed, the number of these has proportionately decreased, as to which we have no certain evidence. Ultimately they must surely decrease in numbers if less and less work is offered them, but the process is a painful one and some of the distress from lack of employment in East London, which has been so greatly complained of recently, is probably attributable to this cause.*

As to the normal value of a day's work, it is, as will be explained later, a debateable question whether 4*s* or 4*s* 6*d* or some intermediate sum should be taken.

If 4*s* be accepted, we get, on the basis of the 1892 pro forma statement, for 1000 men (A list) 21*s* 4*d*, for 2000

* In 1894, 65·6 per cent. of the labour at the Joint Committee's docks was performed by the permanent and A men, 28·8 per cent. by those on the B list, and only 5·6 per cent. by men of the C class. The permanent and A men numbered 3450, and the B men 2580.

men (B list) 19*s*, and for 3300 men (C list) 8*s* per week. If 4*s* 6*d* be taken, the amounts would be one-eighth more.

It is not to be supposed that no earnings would be made by the casually employed men when they are not required at the docks, but such earnings are very precarious, and it would be rash to estimate them at more than 1*s* a day on the average. If this rate be taken, it would raise the total earnings of Class C by about 4*s* a week, or from 8*s* or 9*s* to 12*s* or 13*s* a week on the year's average.

The limits of possible error in these figures are not very wide. If the men on list C make any more than 8*s* or 9*s* on the average, so much the less will fall to the men on list B.

It thus appears that while picked men may make as high an average as 24*s*, the ordinary rank and file of the dockers earn, at their trade, from about 21*s* at most to about 8*s* a week, and may supplement this by other earnings, which will probably vary according to the amount of unoccupied time and the use made of it, from 1*s* to 5*s* a week. Those who belong, in truth, to other trades, but come at times to the docks, are probably no better off; but their earnings should rather be viewed in connection with the trade to which they are properly accredited.

Surrey Commercial and Millwall Docks. — At the Surrey Commercial Docks employment is most brisk in July, and a fairly high level of work is maintained till the middle of January, with occasional depressions, of which the most marked are at the time of the August bank holiday and at Christmas. From the middle of January to the end of March there is an almost constant decline in the numbers employed, followed by an increase from April to June.

At Millwall also, work is best in the autumn and early part of the winter, but the full time does not begin till the end of August. The numbers are subject to some sharp depressions, due to the weather in October and November, and touch the lowest point at Christmas. May, June, and

July show variations, but when once the total drops in January there is little to relieve the slackness till the middle of May. The year reviewed ends on March 31st, 1892, with employment for 350 men less than it began with on April 1st, 1891, this reduction being due in both docks to the Russian famine and the consequent prohibition of grain export from Russia.

A comparison of the amount of labour employed on handling grain with the total labour employed, shows that it is to grain that the variations must largely be attributed. The number of men on other work varies, however, from 586 at least (on May 8th), to 1591 at most (on August 21st). From August to January is the period of most work in these as well as in the grain departments. The bulk of this other work consists of handling timber. Special strength and aptitude are required for grain and timber, and it is not possible for outsiders to compete for this work. On the other hand the men who are accustomed to it do not care to take other, less paid, work at all.

Each of these docks has its own system of piece or contract work, and the men of the regular gangs are in effect preference men. A good deal of money is earned on this contract work, but the slack seasons affects all hands. The number of men who seek their living at these docks is probably about 3000 (1800 at Surrey Commercial and 1200 at Millwall), and dividing them into three classes, according to their chances for work, returns in our possession seem to show that some 1500 make on the average 30*s* a week, 1000 about 20*s*, and the other 500 about 10*s*.

Wharves and Warehouses.—Work at the wharves is less subject to fluctuation than at the docks, and the variations from day to day, or week to week, are not great; but on the other hand there will be less interchange of men between one wharf and another than between different departments in the same dock. On the whole, there is a

surplus of wharf work from September to Christmas, and a deficiency from March to August, the months of January and February representing about the mean. The north-side wharves and warehouses offer pretty fair employment for 4500 men, and probably 5000 seek a living at them, whilst at the south-side wharves 4000 or more men compete for work which might fairly suffice for 3500. Approximately dividing the work amongst the 9000 men in accordance with returns before us, it would seem that 2600 permanent men average 27*s* a week, 2800 preference men, 24*s*; 1800 second preference men, 21*s* 6*d*; and 1800 third preference men from about 11*s* 6*d* to 12*s* 6*d*.

Summary.—As has been said, it seems probable that in the way the work is now distributed, 20,000 men are actually needed, and that there may be as many as 22,000 professional dockers. This number is made up as follows:—

Usually employed at	Victoria and Albert Docks	3500
,,	East and West India	2000
,,	London and St. Katharine	4000
,,	North side wharves and warehouses	5000
,,	South ,,	4000
,,	Millwall Docks	1200
,,	Surrey Commercial Docks	1800
		21,500

Taking docks, wharves, and warehouses together, there was a fair amount of work for about 15,000 men, while there would then be left from half work to only a few days in the year for 3000 more. This is shown exactly by the table on the next page, from which it appears that 12,500 men might have been employed all the year round, 500 more might have had about 300 days' work out of a possible 309, another 500 from 284 to 297 days, and so on, till at the bottom of the list come the 500 who, assuming the work to be taken up strictly in this way, would obtain only one week's employment. Reference to this table will be useful in considering the possible regulation of the work:—

					Days' Work.
On 302—309 days for	12,500 men	(or all the year round)	... =	about	3,840,000
,, 298—301 ,,	500 more	(all year except part of March)	= ,,		150,000
,, 284—297 ,,	500 ,,	(all year except part of March, May, and August)	= ,,		146,000
,, 260—283 ,,	500 ,,	(ditto ditto)	= ,,		138,000
,, 219—259 ,,	500 ,,	(part of March, May, June, July, and August without work)	= ,,		125,000
,, 158—218 ,,	500 ,,	(no work in August, very little in March, not half work in May and June, and no month without some loss of time)	= ,,		101,000
,, 121—157 ,,	500 ,,	(no work in March, May, June, or August, and not much in July; half work in April and September)	= ,,		75,000
,, 80—120 ,,	500 ,,	(no work in March, and practically none 1st May to end of September)	= ,,		54,000
,, 44— 79 ,,	500 ,,	(about half work in November, December, January, and February. No other work except a short spell at the end of September)	= ,,		33,000
,, 24— 43 ,,	500 ,,	(only quarter work in November, December, January, and February)	= ,,		18,000
,, 7— 23 ,,	500 ,,	(practically no work, except at end of November and beginning of December)	= ,,		8,500
,, 7 ,,	500 ,,	(needed at the beginning of December only) ...	= ,,		3,500
	18,000				4,692,000

The particulars obtained included a daily record of the weather, morning being divided from afternoon. The whole day may be fine, showery, or wet, or a day may begin with any of the three, and change from fine to showery or wet, from showery to fine or to wet, or from wet to showery or fine. Similarly fog, if present at all, may be dense or slight, or may change from one to the other during the day.

The proportion of rainy and foggy days was as follows:—

Rain all day	16	days.
,, followed by showers	1	
,, in the morning only	6	
Showers, followed by rain	1	
Showery all day	18	
,, in morning only	22	
Fine, followed by rain	4	
,, showers	21	

Rainy	89	days.
Foggy	25	,,
Fine	195	,,
	309	

Dense fog all day	4	days.
,, in morning	7	
Foggy all day	3	
,, followed by dense fog	1	
,, morning	6	
Fine, followed by fog	4	

There is no cure for fog; when it is dense work must stop at the docks. But this is not necessarily the case with rain, as the provision of some form of shelter is at least conceivable. A rainy day throws off from 500 to 2500 men, and costs 4*s* a day to each of them. If the interests of masters and men were the same, some means would perhaps be found to avoid this loss, which in the course of the year must amount to a very large sum. It may be said that the work must be done sooner or later, and that in proportion as few men are taken on during rain, additional men are needed when the rain ceases. This, however, does not make up the loss to those who are thrown out but rather aggravates it, as the extra demand for men when the rain ceases only brings in additional workers.

Possible Regulation of the Work.

The earnings of the professional docker are shared by a considerable number of incomers from other trades who seek work at the docks, not because the docks are busy, but because their own trades are slack, and herein lies the peculiar difficulty of dock industry. If, instead of coming at all times, these men from other trades were introduced only when the docks were busiest, their numbers could even be increased with advantage, and, combined with a reduction in his own ranks, would probably lead to improvement in the position of the professional docker.

There appears to be good work actually for 14,500 to 15,000, or allowing for sickness and unavoidable friction, for about 16,000 men. For these, with strict preference over all outsiders, there would be an average of 281 days out of 309, and the year's work would be divided somewhat as shown below:—

						Days' Work.
Permanent men...	4000,	working	294	days	(309, less 5 per cent.)	=1,176,000
First preference...	4000,	,,	287	,,	7½ ,,	=1,148,000
Second ,, ...	4000,	,,	278	,,	10 ,,	=1,112,000
Third ,, ...	4000,	,,	266	,,	14 ,,	=1,064,000
	16,000	average.				4,500,000
Outsiders	3,000,	working	63	days	average	190,000
	19,000					4,690,000

Figured at 4*s* a day, the preference men would average 22*s* 1*d*, 21*s* 4*d*, and 20*s* 5*d*, or at 4*s* 6*d*, 24*s* 10*d*, 24*s*, and 22*s* 11*d* per week. The off-time of the third preference men would fall in the summer, mostly in August, and might be made of some value. On this calculation, 3000 additional men would be needed at the busiest periods, which fall mainly in the winter. If the outsiders could be drawn from those trades which are slack at that time, they too might find a sufficient amount of work between two sources of employment for a decent livelihood. This arrangement, if it were feasible, would dispense entirely

with the services of 5000 or 6000 men. It is not to be supposed that such a change could come about quickly.

The road towards it lies in perfecting the list system and, if possible, deciding over-night the number of men who will be required in each department on the following morning. In this direction, as we have already seen, much has been done since 1892. The Joint Committee had already at that time begun and have since then steadily pursued the policy of giving regular work, or as nearly regular work as possible, to those men who attend most regularly, and, to this end, have adopted several of the suggestions made by the present writer in the paper to which reference has already been made.

Both masters and men desire to see a reduced proportion of very casual work, but there is a fundamental difference in the aims of the two parties, as well as in the methods relied upon to attain them.

The employers naturally desire to have a body of men on whom they can rely, as having too much to lose to engage without very grave cause in a strike; but beyond this it is their first interest to secure a sufficient supply of outside labour on which to draw. Formerly they looked no further, and, as I have said, accepted the struggle at the dock gates as unavoidable. The great strike and the public feeling awakened by it have, however, had the effect of opening their eyes to the close connection which not only ought to exist but actually does exist between their own welfare and that of the men they employ.

The ideal of the men is different from that of the masters. They see in the employment of a permanent weekly staff a tendency to prevent the free distribution of the work and to weaken the men's power of combination. They find in it no solution of the labour question; and while accepting the practice as inevitable, desire to limit rather than extend its application. Outside of this body of "permanent" hands they would propose to form all other professional

dockers into a strong ring, the members of which should be preferred for work to the exclusion of outsiders; but they would wish that all within this ring should share alike in the chances of work, and if they could they would limit the numbers of those forming it.

It is questionable whether the men would be content with an actually *equal* division of the work if that were open to them. They will without doubt always prefer individually to do as well as they can for themselves.

The varying demand for labour at the docks can be provided for in four different ways: (1) By maintaining at all times a sufficient force to cope with the largest amount of work offering. (2) By working overtime when needed. (3.) By drawing upon outside labour for additional hands in busy times. (4) By postponing some of the work. Of these four it is upon the first alone that the employers now rely, and the only mitigation of its hardship is the extent to which the men may themselves find other work in slack times. My present suggestion bears mainly upon the application of the third method here mentioned, *i.e.*, on the introduction when needed (and not at any other time) of outside labour. It may, however, be desirable to use the second and fourth methods to some extent. At times, without causing much delay, it may be possible to spread the work more evenly over the days, or a short pressure of business may be fairly met by overtime, in order to avoid bringing strangers in unnecessarily. If in addition any arrangement could be made for continuing out-door work during rain, it would tend in the same direction by levelling the curve of demand for labour.

Daily Wages.

In order to help to determine the ordinary value of a day's work at the docks, the chairman of the Joint Committee of Management has supplied me with his

calculations extending half year by half year from January 1st, 1891, to June 30th, 1892.

During this period (which covers the twelve months had under review) the value of "piece-work" (or work at 6*d* an hour with a plus) was on the average nearly 5*s* a day.

The permanent men, when not employed on piece-work, were paid on the average 4*s* 6*d* per day, and the day labourers when not on piece about 4*s*. There is much more piece-work than day-work.

Taking the middle period (from June to December, 1891), which is also the middle of the year reviewed, we have the following figures:—

		£	Per Day. s.	d.
An average of	2890 men on piece received.....	110,619, or	4	11
,,	987 ,, permanent (wages)	34,530, ,,	4	6
,,	1247 ,, daily wages	39,620, ,,	4	1
Total.....	5124 men	184,769, or	4	7

Tilbury is omitted here as elsewhere.

Of the 2900 men on piece-work many are drawn from the permanent list. I am not sure whether the plus is equally divided, or whether the permanent hands get a larger share than the rest; and even if all share alike it is probable that the permanent hands will be selected for the most responsible and best paid work. It may therefore be right to estimate the average value of the day as follows:—

1700 permanent men at.....	5*s*
3400 daily labourers at	4*s* to 5*s*
5100 taken together at	4*s* 7*d*

One of the steamship owners, working at the Royal Albert Dock, has also furnished some very interesting particulars. These are for the year ending March 31st, 1892. For about half of this time the men were

working on the co-operative system, and earned on the average 5*s* 4*d* per day for discharging, and 4*s* 11*d* for work on the quay. Some of the co-operative work proving unprofitable, the men asked to be, and were, put on time at 6*d* an hour, and working in this way earned, during the second half of the year, 4*s* 5*d* a day for ship and 4*s* 3*d* for quay work.

It is remarkable that the cost of working per ton of cargo remained the same. The work done under the pressure of the co-operative system being more efficient in exact proportion as it was better paid; and it seems that the men are as well pleased to give "sixpenny work" for 6*d* as to give eightpenny work for 8*d*.

Another firm of ship owners working in the same dock has supplied the following particulars :—

			s.	*d.*		*d.*		
Ship work (up to 74 men at most) averaged			4	11	at	6	per hour	and plus.
Quay	„	86	„	4	6 „	6	„	„
Frozen meat		149	„	6	1 „	8	„	„

The figures of one large wharf, taken for twelve months, show that a day's work is worth, on the average, fully 5*s* for the casual men. The permanent hands at the same wharf, not counting foremen, received 28*s* per week, thus accepting less pay per hour in exchange for the regularity and permanence of their employment.

Longer hours are worked usually at the wharves than at the docks.

Statements made to me by a number of the men give 4*s* a day as a full average. Taking 7½ hours in summer, and 6½ hours in winter, at 6*d* an hour, we have 3*s* 9*d* and 3*s* 3*d* respectively; overtime, the men say, is on the whole balanced by short time—*i.e.*, when the work begins late or ends early on any day; and finally they claim that the "plus" does not do any more than make the money up to 4*s*, taking winter and summer together, on the average of the work done. It is however not denied that large

earnings are sometimes made. In the town warehouses, during the wool sales, many men are said to work from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M., earning as much as 50*s* in a week. Men working for the tea, feather and other sales also earn high wages. A good gang of men working at frozen meat will make 1*s* an hour each.

The slight discrepancy which exists between the 4*s* as stated by the men as the average value of a day's work and the actual figures shown by the books of the employers, is to be accounted for by the exclusion from or inclusion in the average of large occasional earnings.

So far as all share equally in these extra earnings, they undoubtedly should be included in the ordinary dockers' budget, but so far as they are in effect a privilege to be enjoyed by a few, it is misleading to bring them into average. It would be more correct to say that a portion of the day-labourers get, like the permanent men, higher pay, as well as more regular work, than the rest.

While, therefore, the true average value of a day's work at the docks is fully 4*s* 6*d*, it would be rather misleading to use this figure in estimating the position of the ordinary docker. It must, however, be borne in mind if 4*s* or even 4*s* 3*d* a day be taken as the average value of the joint committee's work, that the rule excludes a certain proportion of preferred men who get the cream of the work.

The same applies undoubtedly to part of the wharf and warehouse labour both north and south: some men being able to combine pretty regular work with good and at times high pay. Similarly special work, such as the handling of grain, which from its nature commands an extra price, may be reasonably excluded from the ordinary average.

Stevedores.

Formerly (as has already been said,) there was no distinction between stevedores and other dock labourers, or in other words, between discharging cargo or handling it on

shore, and stowing it on board ship. The distinction was brought about by trades union policy, and the rise in wages; but, for the most part, is soundly based on difference of skill required. There are, no doubt, degrees of aptitude and experience as well as the mere exercise of strength in ordinary dockers' work, but to stow cargo to the best advantage for the ship as well as the merchandise, demands science as well as care; no space must be wasted if she is to receive her full complement of cargo; with the result that packages of all shapes and sizes are put together by the stevedores' art as neatly as cyclopean masonry. The weights must be properly adjusted if the ship is to be buoyant. Packages containing liquids must not be placed over goods which might be damaged by leakage, nor heavy pieces upon others which might be crushed by the weight. Goods liable to sweat in the warmth of the holds, or to give off noxious vapours, must be kept apart. Risk of heating must be avoided by ventilation, which though mainly a matter of the construction of the ship has to be seconded in the stowage. And finally every piece and package must be so placed and "chocked" off that no possible rolling or pitching of the ship at sea can dislodge it; for if cargo "shifts" in a storm the vessel may be lost, and even though the ship arrives safe, the cargo may probably be reduced to pulp. Of the skill needed much is provided by the master stevedore, or by his foremen, but the stowage cannot possibly be done aright without the co-operation of men who are used to this work. General orders can be given, and the foreman in charge may clamber down to see to some special point of difficulty himself; but he cannot always be below, and most of the work will be carried out and covered up as it goes along, out of his sight in the dim recesses of the holds.

It was to take advantage of the value which lay in skill and experience for this trade that the Amalgamated Stevedores' Labour Protection League came into existence in

1870 (or 1871). At this time the men were receiving 3*s* to 4*s* per day for twelve hours, and 4*s* for a night. Two or three years later, the society having then three thousand members, they obtained 5*s* for the twelve hour day, and 9*d* per hour for overtime, followed shortly by a reduction of the hours to nine; and a few years later again obtained 6*s* a day, or 8*d* an hour, with 1*s* per hour overtime. The rate now stands the same, except that 14*s* is paid for a night of eleven hours. The day is reckoned from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. with one hour for dinner, and the night from 5 P.M. to 7 A.M. with three hours for meals. The only recent change has been a rule forbidding men to work more than one day and night continuously. They used at times to work two days and a night. It will be seen that the action of the union was very successful; and by making entrance difficult—the fee charged is £2, and sons of members have the preference—something like a close corporation was attempted.

Beyond the ranks of this society there came to be a nearly equally large body of stevedores without organization, earning rather less wages, and, it may be, worth rather less than the members of the union. From this material a new union was formed in 1887, under the title of the "United Stevedores," and finally in 1889, after the great dock strike, the two societies combined as the "Amalgamated Stevedores' Society" and reached a membership of over four thousand, but this has since fallen to three thousand, owing mainly to disputes with two large shipping firms, which resulted in their work being lost to the Society. It is said that there are in all six thousand stevedores in the port, and although this seems an over-estimate, it is inevitable that while the men's society maintains its high entrance fee, free labour will seek and find an independent existence outside its pale. The trade is largely recruited by seamen settling down to shore work. About 50 per cent. of the men in the union are said to have been to sea.

Whatever the exact number of stevedores may be, it is

much in excess of the needs of the trade. It seems certain that at no time, however busy the docks may be, is there work for all, and it is probable that no man amongst them all obtains continuous work. Half time is said to be the average. The men are engaged and paid by the day—a fresh start is made every morning. In connection with each dock there are "places of call" where the men wait being taken on at certain "times of call," 6.45, 7.45, 8.45, 12.45 and 5.45. Each foreman selects his men, and though it may be that the same men continue day after day at a job, no such right is claimed, but is rather disclaimed as giving an unfair advantage to those at work the day before.

Organization.

Subjoined are particulars concerning the organization of the men in this section :—

Numbers in the London Trade (Census 1891).		Name of Trade Society.	Membership in London.	Remarks.
Total.	Of whom are employed males over 20.			
14,562	13,771	Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union (1889).	4500	Benefits are Strike pay, Legal Assistance, and Funeral allowance.
		Labour Protection League (1872).	3000	Strike pay only.
		Amalgamated Stevedores' Labour Protection League (1870).	3000	Strike pay. Death or Accident benefits met by a levy.
			10,500	

Thus there is a total of organized labour of 10,500, as compared to 13,770 adult males returned in the section, or 76 per cent., a very high proportion. The comparison is not, however, at all a correct one; not only is the number of professional dockers and stevedores (as shown in the

foregoing article) fully 25,000 or 26,000, but the membership of the unions themselves is not confined entirely to dock-workers. The deficit in the number of dockers returned by the census must be looked for in the swollen ranks of the "general labourers," described in a succeeding chapter.

The Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union is a national organization, divided into 12 districts and 77 branches, of which 4 districts and about 30 branches are in London. The total membership is not published, but the amount of contributions received by each branch is given in the accounts (which are prepared with great care), and from these amounts the number of financial members of the Society may be estimated at 10,500, of whom about 4500 (as above shown) would be in London. The subscription is 3*d* per week, and 10*s* per week is given as strike pay, £4 at death, and legal assistance as required. The funeral fund amounts to over £6000.

The society formerly known as the "South Side Labour Protection League" now omits the words "South Side" from its title, but is still practically confined to South London men, the whole of its twenty odd branches being situated in that part of the metropolis. The subscription is 2½*d* per week, and entrance fee varies from 1*s* to 15*s*, each branch fixing its own amount. It offers strike pay of 10*s* per week, has a credit balance of £5000, and is on friendly terms with employers.

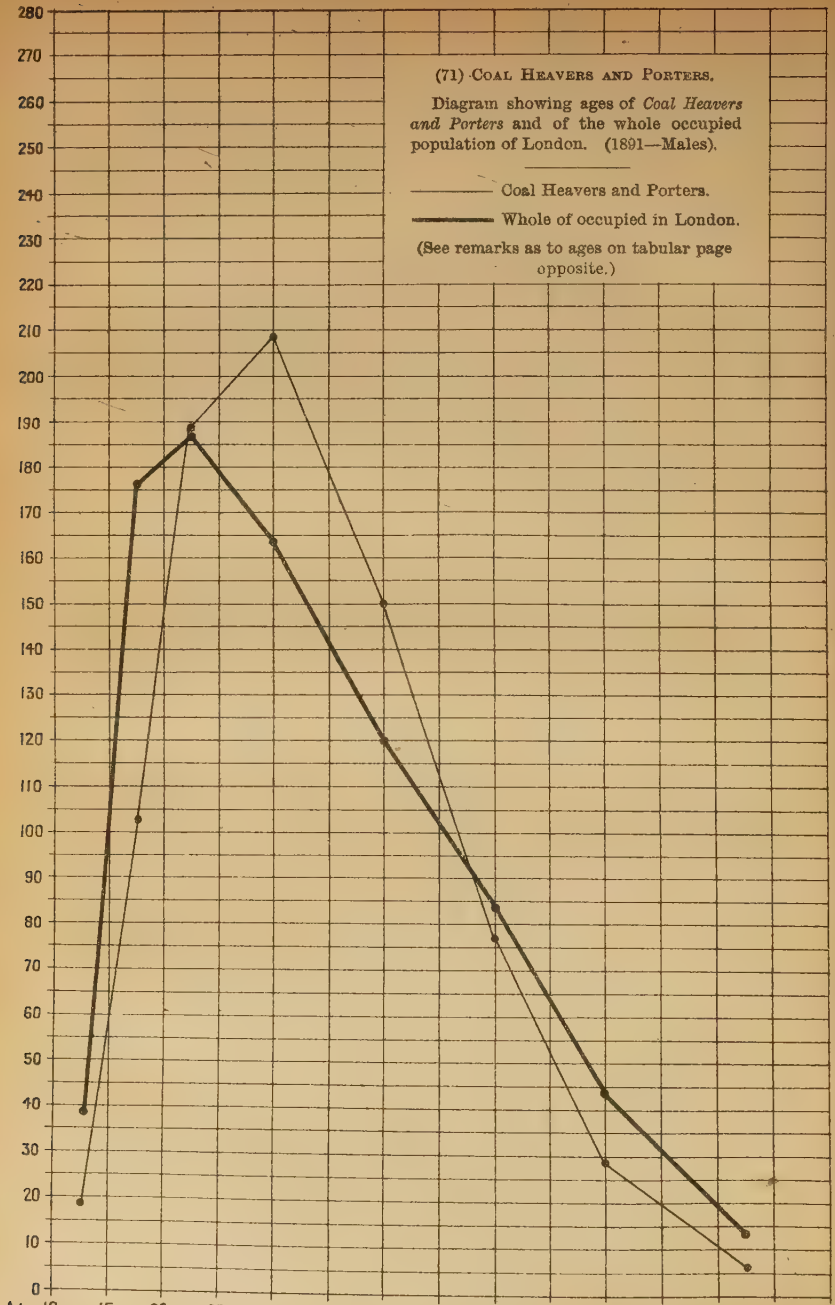
The Amalgamated Stevedores' Labour Protection League is also a London Society. Its entrance fee, as already stated, is £2 for adult outsiders, of which 5*s* is payable on nomination, 15*s* on election, and the remainder within six months. But youths between fourteen and eighteen are admitted at half fees, and sons of members on payment of 2*s* 6*d* only. The subscription is 2*d* a week, and in return for this strike pay is given, but the amount apparently is not definitely fixed. On the death of a member a levy,

varying in different branches from 4*d* to 1*s*, is made for the funeral expenses, and there is also a levy of 6*d* per head in the event of a member being permanently incapacitated by accident.

Social Condition.

The general evidence as to the impoverished condition of those returned in this section is fully corroborated by the test of rooms occupied. Our table of persons represented (p. 398) shows that 62½ per cent. are "crowded" in their homes, whilst of the remainder 24½ per cent. live one and under two persons to a room, and only 13 per cent. are of the central class.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 88.)



CHAPTER II.

COAL-PORTERS AND GAS-WORKERS.

COAL-PORTERS. (*Section* 71.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

...sus Division, 1891.	Females	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
...porters.....	—	468	4071	298	4837

...e diagram opposite shows an abnormal ...ortion of men in the prime of manhood. ...ths are not fitted for an occupation in ...h physical strength is the chief require- ...t, and after 40 years of age capacity fails ...dly.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	3243	Heads of Families, 3243.
	Females.....	—	
Birthplace	In London .... 61 %	1973	
	Out of London.. 39 %	1270	
Industrial Status ..	Employer ..... 1 %	22	
	Employed..... 98 %	3186	
	Neither ..... 1 %	35	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.
Total.	3243	2590	9652	14	15,499
Average in family ..	1	·79	2·99	—	4·78

Distribution.

...	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
...5	1345	955	1522	4837

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	4639	30·0
2 & under 3 ,,	5266	34·0
1 & under 2 ,,	3553	22·9
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms	2025	13·1
4 or more persons to a servant ..		
Less than 4 to 1 servant, & 4 or more to 2 servants ..	2	—
All others with 2 or more servants..	—	—
Servants	14	—
	15,499	100

Distribution. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

East ..	Inner 2467 / Outer 608	3075
North..	Inner 947 / Outer 3542	4489
West ..	Inner 190 / Outer 2587	2777
Central	Inner 250	250
South-East..	Inner 290 / Outer 1416	1706
South-West..	Inner 1186 / Outer 2016	3202
		15,499

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	74 %	59 %	64 %
Not ,, ..	26 %	41 %	36 %

Inner 5330, or 34 %
Outer 10,169, or 66 %

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

...heaver, coal-labourer, coal-trimmer, ...oal-whipper, coal-tipper, coal-porter.

Status as to Employment.

...he men being almost entirely of the employed class, the census ...s not attempt any division according to industrial status.

Coal Workers.

The number of men here returned as occupied in coal work is very far from correct, owing mainly to the fact that coal carmen, who form more than half the total of the trade, are not included, but are enumerated with carmen generally (Section 62). In addition to this, many men have loosely described themselves as "loaders" and so have been classed with general labour. Putting aside, however, these peculiarities of the returns, it will be best to here describe the trade as a whole, thus dealing probably with some 12,000 coal-porters, besides the large number of merchants, dealers, &c.

The London Directory gives the names of more than eight hundred firms in the trade, including about eighty colliery companies, fifty coal owners or exporters, eighty factors and agents, some three hundred merchants, and a similar number of dealers, and probably this very far from completes the list, which includes many who, like Mr. Micawber, take to the trade when other resources fail.

Methods of Work.

There are two main divisions of coal work, viz., seaborne and inland, but the largest merchants have both branches, and practically control the trade. If not owners of collieries themselves, they invariably have an agreement with the proprietors of the mine as to the prices at which coal shall be supplied. Smaller men purchase the coal of the large factors or merchants by the barge or truck load, this business being transacted at the Coal Exchange, Lower Thames Street, and based as to quantity upon the certificate of the weigher of the coal. The market is held three times a week, when current prices are arranged by a ring consisting of the chief merchants. Without the pale of market devices, are the large number of small dealers

who combine a coal and greengrocery store or hawk in the streets, and who buy a ton or two at wharf or yard as required. A visit to an East End coal depôt on Saturday morning will disclose a motley array of horses and vehicles awaiting their turn to be supplied with the material for sundry "'arf 'underds."

Seaborne Trade.—This trade consists largely of steam-coal imported from Newcastle and Wales, and used for manufacturing purposes, electric light works, &c., but also includes the best class of Durham, and all sorts of Yorkshire house coal. Customarily it is purchased by the merchant "free on board," *i.e.* at a price which includes delivery on to the steamer at the port nearest to the mine. The coal is conveyed to the London discharging stations in the docks and on the river. These stations are few in number and are the monopoly of three or four firms or companies which make a charge of 1*s* to 1*s* 2*d* for every ton unloaded.

The work of discharging from the ships varies a little with different firms, but may be sufficiently explained by selecting a typical example. A vessel containing eight hundred tons of coal has to be unloaded, partly into barges and partly into hoppers, and is anchored in front of a high building, open on either side, the upper parts being reached from the back by means of an outside ladder-staircase. Attached to the front of the building which faces the river are several powerful hydraulic cranes, each controlled by a man who works the levers from a little office on the floor immediately above, hoisting or lowering, as required, huge iron buckets or tanks of some 16 cwt. capacity. In the vessel below, twenty-two men are at work, eight in each of two large holds and six in a third smaller one. Through a thick haze of black dust these men are dimly discernible, stripped almost to the waist, rapidly shovelling coal into the tanks, which, as filled, are hoisted by the crane to a certain level position, when a weighing apparatus, which forms part of the machinery, comes into operation, and the

weigher, seated aloft, notes down the weight of each load. The buckets containing the coal brought out of the hold in the stern of the vessel are then lowered to a barge alongside, on which a man is stationed who, by a simple mechanical contrivance, tips the bucket, and so empties it. From the other holds the tanks of coal, after weighing, are swung round to the height of the upper floor of the building, and are there drawn in and emptied into iron trollies by men working in pairs. On this floor are the capacious mouths of the hoppers arranged in rows and with a metal rail laid down on either side, just sufficient room being left to walk along between each set of hoppers. The loaded truck, with its attendant on either hand, is pushed swiftly along the metals until it is brought above the particular compartment to be filled, when, a bolt being drawn, the bottom of the truck gives way like a trap-door, and the coal falls into the recess with a crashing noise. The lower part of the hopper is of much narrower proportions than the upper, and reaches the ground floor of the building as a shoot of quite modest dimensions. Here the coal is put into sacks, and the vans loaded ready for delivery. The loaders work in gangs of three, consisting of a screener, a weigher, and a backer. Standing on a raised platform at a height about level with the floor of the van, the weigher holds the open sack to the outlet of the hopper, with its bottom resting on the weighing machine, which he works lightly with his foot. Above him stands the screener, holding a rake with which he works the falling coal so that the larger pieces are directed into the sack, whilst the small goes through a screen into the space behind. So soon as the sack turns the scale, a piece of wood or metal is inserted to stop the mouth of the shoot, and the backer lifts the sack into the van. The work proceeds very quickly, a van of two tons being loaded in about ten minutes.

To return to the barge. When fully laden, this is placed

in charge of a lighterman, who takes it to its destination, which may be either an outgoing steam-ship or a wharf. Supposing it to be the former, and the vessel to be lying in the river, one common method (though not the only one) of coaling would be to make fast the barge to one side of the ship (which is often, in order to save time, being unloaded from the other side) and to lift the coal with the aid of a hand-winch placed upon the deck and kept in position, perhaps, by heavy blocks of coal. Two men in the barge fill large baskets with coal. Three others at the winch raise the baskets, and a sixth man catches them and tips their contents into the hold, the opening of which may be either on the deck or in the side of the vessel. If the latter, he stands on a suspended platform. These six men usually constitute a gang, but in addition there are, in the case of large vessels, backers who carry or pass the coal to the required hold, and trimmers who see it properly stowed in the ship's bunkers.

Should the barge be taken to a wharf, either on river or canal, the work of unloading is performed by six men, consisting of two fillers, one screener, and three backers. Here, again, slightly differing methods are in operation, of which one may be described. The barge is moored to the wharf, and communication is established by means of a long inclined plank, stretching from the barge to the quay. One of the fillers puts the larger lumps direct into the sack, whilst his mate, dealing with the smaller coal, shovels it into the sieve held out by the screener, who gives it a shake and deposits it in its canvas receptacle. The sack is held upright with both hands by the backer, and rests upon "heaving sticks," which in turn are lying upon a weighing machine duly adjusted to allow for weight of sacks, &c. The heaving sticks are made of two stout pieces of wood with handles, joined together by iron crossbars, and so forming a sort of hollow tray. With this appliance the sack, so soon as its full complement is registered, is lifted

by the two fillers on to the back of the third man, who carries it the necessary distance, and then, mounting a platform, deposits it in the waiting van. On leaving wharf or yard, the van passes over a weighbridge, where its weight is finally noted and any required adjustment made.

Inland work has mostly to do with coal for household use, but includes a certain amount of steam-coal. It comes by rail chiefly from the Midland Counties, the trucks containing it being shunted into sidings at various convenient points and there unloaded and reloaded for delivery in much the same way as seaborne work.

Wages and Hours of Work.

The men are paid almost entirely by the piece. The Coal Porters' Union, whose rates are generally recognized, has an elaborate scale of pay, covering all descriptions of work, but makes no provision for time-work.

In tank filling the rate of pay varies according to the kind of coal which is being unloaded, but a usual price is 4½*d* per ton. In the larger firms these men are said to earn from £2. 5*s* to £2. 15*s* a week, but a more general average would be 35*s* to 40*s*. The men as a rule complete the unloading of a vessel at one spell of work, with intervals only for meals, and this may involve from twelve to fifteen hours' work. Taking the vessel of eight hundred tons already referred to as an example, the fillers started at 5 A.M. and finished about 8 P.M., having two hours interval for meals, and a very brief occasional rest for liquid refreshment. At 4½*d* per ton this would give for the twenty-two men an average of about 13*s* 7*d*, which, however, is supplemented by a regular allowance of 6*s* per gang, bringing up the total to an average of about 14*s* 5*d* per man. The men would not work more than from three to four of such days a week, and could not do much more even if the work

were to be had. Earnings are equally shared amongst all the men engaged and they are paid off directly their work is completed. Should they not finish overnight, money is paid to them on account. If the men work after 4 o'clock on Saturday afternoon they sometimes receive an extra 2*s* 6*d* each, and a further like amount if kept on after 8 A.M. on Sunday.

The pay for coaling ships is 7*s* 6*d* per man for every fifty tons stowed in the hold of the vessel, paid alike to winchmen, backers and trimmers. For a full night's work there is a payment of 7*s* 6*d* in addition to tonnage earned, and of 2*s* 6*d* for part of a night. In all work connected with shipping speed is of great importance, and consequently labour is sometimes continued for many hours, and as much as 30*s* per man may be earned, representing 150 tons of coal put into the vessel, plus the extra 7*s* 6*d* for night work. An ordinary day's task will be from seventy to seventy-five tons, equal to about 11*s* a man. Work is, however, very precarious, and good workers will not average more than 30*s* to 35*s*, taking the year through, inferior men receiving much less.

The winchmen have certain points at which they wait, and are taken on as required at 7 A.M., 9 A.M., or 12 noon. If engaged, the smallest amount they are paid is 3*s* 9*d*, equal to twenty-five tons. A varying time is allowed for meals, but the men take their food and drink with them, and seldom leave the ship.

For unloading from barges and loading into vans the pay is 11¾*d* a ton, with extras for screening, weighing, &c. The money is equally shared by the five men who form the gang. Earnings of men who get the best chances of work will be from 7*s* to 10*s* a day in winter, or £2 to £2. 5*s* a week, falling to from 4*s* to 8*s* a day in summer, or 30*s* to 40*s* a week. Below these there are a large number of irregular and odd men, whose earnings cannot be ascertained even approximately.

There is some variation in the hours worked at wharves, but the following will serve as a typical illustration. Work at this wharf commences punctually at 6 o'clock, and any man not in his place when the clock strikes will probably lose his day's work, as there are generally odd men in waiting, and one of these will be at once taken on by the remainder of the gang. At 7.30 the men "go to mug," as they term it, for about fifteen minutes, resuming until 8.30, when an hour is taken for breakfast, and then work, with a second rest for "mug" at 11.30, goes on till 1 or 1.30, followed by the dinner hour. There is a further adjournment for mug at 4, and work ceases at 6 in winter and 5 or earlier in summer, so that practically the actual working day is one of nine hours in the busy and eight hours in the slack time. On Saturdays work finishes at 2 usually.

Railway Work.—For loading vans from railway trucks 8*d* a ton is paid, and three men will, if there is no screening to do, load six tons an hour, giving the high pay of 1*s* 4*d* per man. But again the work is hard, and the pace cannot be for long maintained. Ten shillings represents a full day's earnings, and five of such days is a pretty full week, giving 50*s* as the maximum earnings in busy times, which falls to 30*s* or less in summer. This of course is for those who may be termed regular men.

In some yards the earnings of all the gangs employed are pooled, and shared out each day, but in others each gang takes its own money, payment being made weekly with an instalment of 10*s* on the Tuesday or Wednesday.

Punctuality is even more strictly observed on railway sidings than in wharf work. The men assemble in a certain spot at 5 A.M. As the hour strikes, the words "clock oh!" are shouted, and any vacancy is instantly filled by an odd man; and though the regular man might be seen running up the yard, he is "cut" for the day. This rule here, as elsewhere, has been made and is enforced

by the men themselves, the principal object being as they say to "give the odd men a chance," as is made evident by the fact that in many cases they do not at once commence work, but first proceed to an early public-house for their initial drink. It is then fifteen or twenty minutes past 5 before a start is made, and work goes on till 8, followed by an interval for breakfast, which varies from half an hour to two hours, according to pressure of work. Resuming till 12.30, an hour is taken for dinner, and work ceases on ordinary days at 5 in winter and 4 or 4.30 in the slack period, and at 2 on Saturdays.

Loaders from hoppers at railway sidings are paid 5*d* per ton for large sacks and 8*d* for small ones, whilst at wharves the rates are 4½*d* and 6½*d* respectively. Earnings do not differ much from those of other classes of loaders, and may be taken at a yearly average of 30*s* to 35*s*. Hours, 6 to 6 or 6 to 5, with two or two and a half hours' interval for meals, &c. Some of the men who empty the trucks into the hoppers receive a regular weekly wage of 30*s*, and others are paid 2¼*d* or thereabouts per ton.

Carmen.—The recognized rate for delivering coal is 7*d* per ton, and a carman will usually do six to eight tons (three or four loads of two tons each) in a day, averaging long journeys with short ones. A shilling a day is paid for driving the horse, and one penny for watering it, and sometimes the carman gets a little for attending to his horses. There is also extra pay for journeys of more than four miles, and an added 1*s* a ton for delivery in 1 cwt. sacks. The average for regularly employed carmen is 28*s* to 30*s*, and the variation is from about 34*s* in winter to 26*s* in summer, to which figures an unascertained addition must be made for tips given by customers. These, however, only represent the wages paid by firms of good standing, and amongst the large number of smaller employers a lower rate probably prevails.

Carmen usually commence work at 6 A.M. and finish

between 7 and 9 at night, taking their meals on their journey. On Saturdays they leave off a little earlier. The men are generally paid weekly.

Trollymen.—These are men who hawk coal about the street, and who may be either in the employ of a dealer or trading on their own account. The recognized rate of commission is 2*s* a ton, with 1*s* a day for driving money. Of actual earnings we have no record.

Coal Meters and weighers.—Prior to the abolition of the coal dues the coal meters' office, which is at the Coal Exchange, had very important duties. All weighers were licensed by it, and it kept the record of all coal entering the port of London. The office is still retained under the control of a committee of merchants, but it is no longer necessary for weighers to be licensed, and its principal work now is the supply of independent weighers in any case of dispute as to the weight of a cargo. All the large factors and merchants keep their own weighers, and a uniform charge is made of 2*d* a ton for weighing, shared equally between buyer and seller. In some cases the weigher has a weekly wage, and in others has a proportion of each 2*d* paid, the remainder being retained by the employers for use of machinery, &c. The weigher gives a certificate of the amount weighed, and it is on this certificate that the buyer in the market purchases. In buying coal wholesale it is always understood that a penny per ton for weighing will be added to the agreed price.

The coal is previously weighed by the colliery and by the railway or dock company, each for their own purposes, so if, as often alleged, short weight is a prevailing feature of the trade, it is not for want of sufficient check.

Seasons and Irregularity.—Winter is naturally the busy time for the trade in house coal and for gas works. In steam-coal work there is not much difference, as ships and factories need as much fuel in summer as at any other time,

and consequently seaborne workers are not affected by seasons so much as inland men. They are, however, to a greater extent the victims of other irregularity. In inland work the men employed, even in slack periods, get a fairly regular, though it may not be quite a full week, but with the tank fillers and winchmen, there is all the uncertainty which is characteristic of shipping work generally—the long spells at high pressure and longer periods of idleness. Of all the seaborne workers, the backers and trimmers probably fare worst, as they generally form no part of the regular gang, their work depending on the size and shape of the ship which has to be coaled. Carmen nearly always, and loaders often, share what work offers in summer, doing less and earning less—but in other cases one or possibly two loading gangs are discharged, and the men, dissolving partnership for the time, go the round of the yards as odd hands, re-forming probably and going back to their old berth when the busy season again comes round. Most of the yards have their odd men, so that the aggregate number of these in slack periods must be very large, but there is a strong spirit of comradeship amongst coalies, resulting in such help in one form or another that there is not much real distress amongst the odd hands. Besides the stringent rules as to time made for their benefit, the regular men will, it is said, deliberately absent themselves for a day now and then so as to give the others a turn.

The work of the coal porter requires no special training and is not difficult to learn. Seaborne work requires more skill than inland work, but in both branches the *sine quâ non* is physical strength; given this any man can acquire with practice the necessary knack and facility. There is scarcely any work for boys, and the trade is recruited from the ranks of general labour. It is a short, hard, rough life, men in most branches being played out at forty-five, and sixty being regarded as quite a patriarchal age. This remark, however, does not apply to the carmen, who can

keep at work till a comparatively good age, and as a fact many of the men take to this when unfitted for other branches. There is also the screening and other lighter jobs which elderly men can do.

A story is told of a well-known firm having, in answer to the complaint of a prim lady customer as to muddy boots and insolence, sent a letter in which they regretted they "had not been able to secure the services of gentlemen to do the work." It is, indeed, very far from a genteel occupation—hard, dirty, often stifling and exhausting—and as is the work, so are the men—rough of manner and tongue. They eat well and, as a rule, drink heavily, swallowing their "two or three tons" (or eightpences) a day, and their four or five half-pints before breakfast. Free and open-handed, thrift is a virtue but seldom practised, and so fully is this recognized that although the men are paid off daily, it is a custom of the trade, religiously observed, to give them a "sub" of 1*s* a day, paid (on account of wages earned) either at breakfast or dinner time. Otherwise, it is said, many of them would have to go without a meal, notwithstanding that they may have drawn 10*s* overnight. Usually a "score" is run up at a neighbouring tavern, so that such money as can be spared from the home—and often unfortunately a good deal more—is mortgaged to the publican before it is earned. With all this, however, the coalie has qualities which commend themselves to our race. Sturdy and independent, the men stand by each other through good or ill report, readily admitting their failings while doing little to remedy them. As to the drinking habit, too, it must be said that it varies in extent with the exhausting or dusty nature of the work, and thus carmen drink less, and are more thrifty, than those in any other branch. On the whole the future slowly makes for improvement, and the ranks of the men now include several total abstainers, who contentedly stay behind and boil their cocoa, &c., whilst the others "go to mug."

Block Fuel.

A large quantity of this fuel is made in London. It is manufactured by machinery and consists of an admixture of pitch and coal dust coagulated by the injection of steam vapour. The machines are attended to by one or two men, and boys are employed to feed the apparatus and to receive and pack the blocks as delivered. Work is brisk during winter, spring, and autumn, but ceases in the summer months.

Trade Organization.

The National Amalgamated Coal Porters' Union is a strong society, and exercises a considerable influence on the trade. Founded in 1889 it has in all forty-six branches, of which thirty-three, with about five thousand members, are in London. The entrance fee is 10*s* and the subscription 3*d* a week, of which 2*d* goes to a central fund and one penny is retained for branch management. The benefits are strike pay and legal assistance, in which latter capacity the society claims to have been very successful. Like most of the new unions which were the outcome of the great dock strike, the society flourished amazingly in its early days, and took an aggressive part in the labour upheaval of that time. In the reaction which followed, it was weakened considerably by reverses and defections, but has apparently settled down into a steady and peaceably disposed organization, on generally amicable terms with the employers. Disputes are not frequent and are usually settled by conciliation. Union and non-union men work together. The government of the society is very democratic, all questions of importance being referred to a vote of the whole body of members, and this has a good effect in preventing partial strikes.

The winchmen of Wapping and district have a small distinct society, but the winchmen of other localities are members of the Coal Porters' Union.

The employers have two associations.

Wages Statistics.

Of adult men, 4369 are enumerated as coal-porters and all may be regarded as of the employed class. Returns have been received from five firms, employing an average of 958 men. The earnings of these men in an ordinary week are as follows :—

Under 20*s*	97,	or 10	per cent.	
20*s* and under 25*s*...	55	,, 6	,,	Under 30*s*, 28 per cent.
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	113	,, 12	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	147	,, 15	,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	154	,, 16	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	103	,, 11	,,	30*s* and over, 72 per cent.
45*s* ,, 50*s*...	77	,, 8	,,	
50*s* and over	212	,, 22	,,	
	958	,, 100	,,	

The large proportion earning high wages, and especially the higher rates that are exceptional even amongst skilled mechanics, is remarkable. It is partially explained by the piece-work and gang systems, which induce the men to work at high pressure and in the most effective combinations.

The winter and summer seasons have a marked effect upon the amount earned. Four of the returns gave details of busy and slack weeks, and these show a decrease of 16½ per cent. in the numbers employed in a slack week while the average earnings of those retaining their employment are reduced 19½ per cent., or a total reduction of 32½ per cent. in wages. The variation in the number of men earning different rates is shown in the subjoined table :—

Busy week.			Slack week.		
Under 20*s*	75, or 8 °/₀	Under 30*s*, 21 °/₀	119, or 15 °/₀	Under 30*s*, 36½ °/₀	
20*s* and under 25*s*	33 ,, 3½ ,,		75 ,, 9½ ,,		
25*s* ,, 30*s*	90 ,, 9½ ,,		95 ,, 12 ,,		
30*s* ,, 35*s*	82 ,, 8½ ,,	30*s* & over, 79 °/₀	116 ,, 14½ ,,	30*s* & over, 63½ °/₀	
35*s* ,, 40*s*	157 ,, 15½ ,,		138 ,, 17 ,,		
40*s* ,, 45*s*	112 ,, 12½ ,,		91 ,, 11½ ,,		
45*s* ,, 50*s*	102 ,, 10½ ,,		54 ,, 6½ ,,		
50*s* and over	310 ,, 32 ,,		114 ,, 14 ,,		
	961 ,, 100 ,,		802 100 ,,		

Average in busy week, 42*s* 11*d*. | Average in slack week, 34*s* 7*d*.

Social Condition.

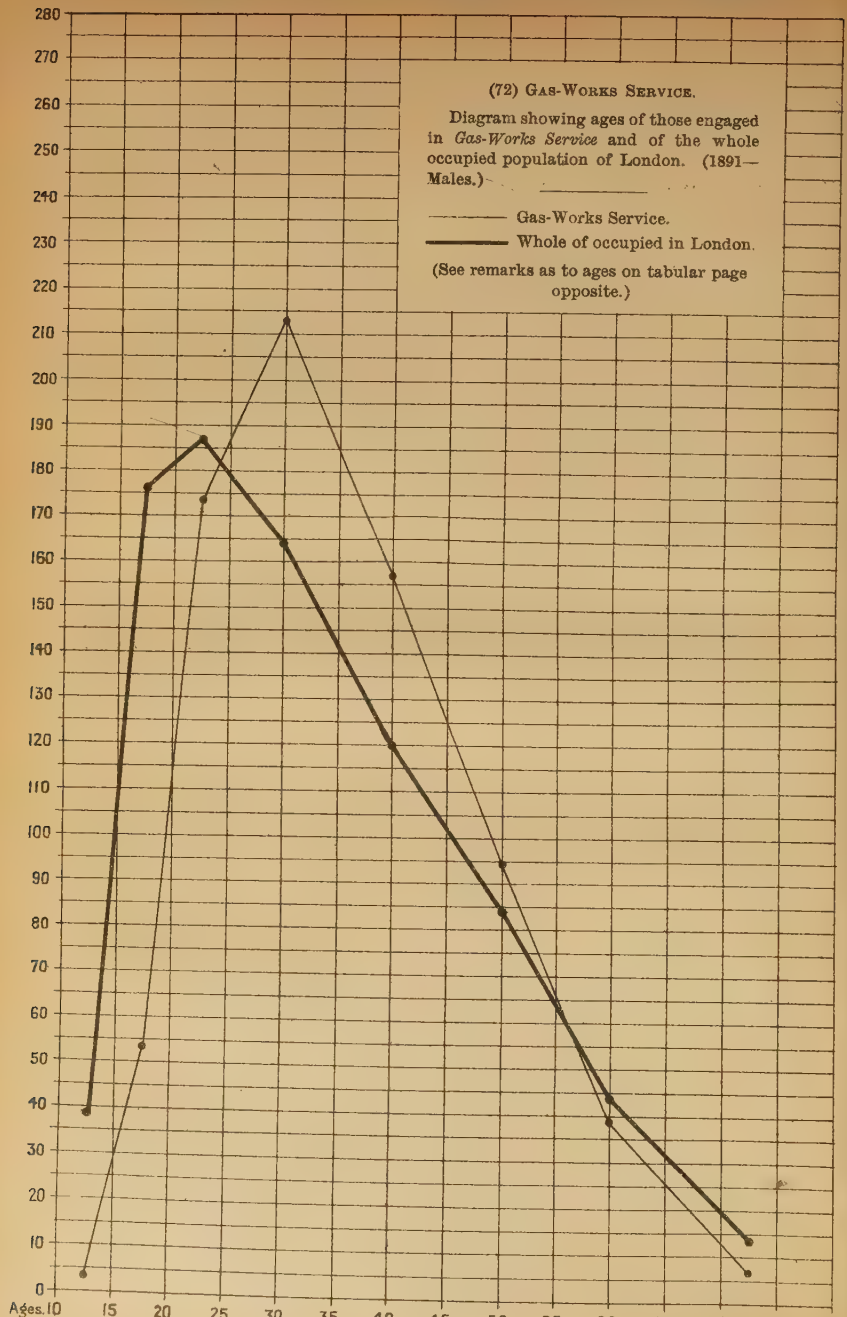
Of the 4369 adult men enumerated, 3243 are included in the social classification as heads of families. The proportion of these men returning themselves as employers or "neither," is less than 2 per cent. and can affect the family classification but little. The following comparison is made with the men's earnings as tested:—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Coal-porters).

Earnings as returned.		*Classification of Population.*		
Under 20*s*...	97, or 10 per cent.	3 or more in each room	4640, or 30½ per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*...	55 ,, 6 ,,	2 to 3 ,,	5260 ,, 34½ ,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	113 ,, 12 ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	3550 ,, 23 ,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	147 ,, 15 ,,	Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ...	1800 ,, 12 ,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	154 ,, 16 ,,			
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	103 ,, 11 ,,			
45*s* ,, 50*s*...	77 ,, 8 ,,			
50*s* and over	212 ,, 22 ,,			
	958 ,, 100 ,,		15,250 ,, 100 ,,	
		Families of those returned as Employers or "neither" ...	250	
			15,500	

The divergence between these tables is extreme: only 16 per cent. earn under 25*s* a week, whilst 65 per cent. are crowded. It is evident that the irregularity in the trade is even greater than is indicated by the variation of earnings, and the wages returns only include those who are fortunate enough to obtain work. To a certain extent the excessive crowding is due to the improvident mode of life, which is common in all irregular trades, but is especially marked in this one, the men living well when trade is brisk and making no provision for the inevitable rainy day. This has a potent influence upon the home, whose condition is more likely to correspond with the income in bad times than with the normal wage.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



GAS WORKS SERVICE. (*Section* 72.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

s Division. 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
rks	22	270	5110	467	5869

men are of the same class as the coal-, and the age line is very similar. ly, however, does not fall quite so early (*See* diagram.)

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		4350	Heads of Families, 4358.
	Females		8	
Birthplace	In London	43 %	1872	
	Out of London..	57 %	2486	
Industrial Status ..	Employer	1 %	32	
	Employed.....	99 %	4309	
	Neither	— %	17	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	4358	3578	13,155	72	21,163
Average in family..	1	·82	3·02	·02	4·86

Distribution.

	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
	663	1107	3034	5869

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	2996	14·2
2 & under 3 ,,	6281	29·7
1 & under 2 ,,	6214	29·4
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms 4 or more to 1 servant.....	5515	26·1
Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servts.	76	·3
All others with 2 or more servants ..	9	—
Servants	72	·3
	21,163	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	54½ %	40 %	44 %
Not ,, ..	45½%	60 %	56%

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 2320 / Outer 1670	3990
North	Inner 275 / Outer 2247	2522
West ..	Inner 643 / Outer 2896	3539
Central	Inner 291	291
South-East	Inner 620 / Outer 5534	6154
South-West	Inner 1022 / Outer 3645	4667
		21,163

Inner 5171, or 25 %
Outer 15,992, or 75 %

Details of Occupations from the Census Dictionary).

ın. fireman, stoker, scoop driver, retort ourer, purifier, coke filler, service wer, pipe layer, meter inspector, lamp-hter, lamp cleaner, valveman, coal rter (if working in gas works).

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Division (1891).	Employers.		Employed.			Neither Employer nor Employed.		Total.
			Males.		Females of all ages.			
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
rks service, &c.	31	1	270	5529	15	17	6	5869
Total.....	32		5814			23		

Gas-Workers.

The gas supply of London is principally in the hands of the Gas Light and Coke Company and the South Metropolitan Gas Company. The works of the former company are twelve in number, viz. Beckton, Silvertown, Bromley-by-Bow, Bow Common, Shoreditch, Haggerston, St. Pancras, Fulham, Kensal Green, Nine Elms, Pimlico, and Westminster. The South Metropolitan Gas Company has six stations, situated respectively at Vauxhall, East Greenwich, Old Kent Road, Bank Side, Rotherhithe, and Greenwich Creek. Thus, as will be seen, the latter company does not cross the river at all, whilst the Gas Light and Coke Company does so at Lambeth and again further west. There are a number of suburban companies, one or two of which cross the southern metropolitan boundary, whilst on the northern side the parishes of Stepney, St. George's-in-the-East and Poplar are supplied by the Commercial Gas Company.

Process of manufacture.—The process of the work is as follows:—The coal is discharged, sometimes by the dock company, but mostly by the gas company's own men, and is conveyed to the retort houses where it is generally so disposed as to fall by gravitation. The retorts are long fire-clay ovens arranged over, and heated by, a coke furnace, and are filled from both ends by long "scoops" which meet in the middle, the retort being some 18 to 20 ft. long and the scoops half this length. Two men lift the scoop about the middle with a bent iron bar, and one man, holding a handle at the closed end, steers it into the retort and when pushed home turns it upside down, so discharging its load of coal. The scoop is usually filled three times for each retort, but in some works twice only, the full charge being made up by the use of shovels. The retort lids are then shut, and sealed so as to be perfectly tight, and the coal remains under process of distillation for six hours, at

the end of which time the gas has all been extracted and the coke remains. The gas is drawn off by a pipe at each end of the retort and is passed through water, any return of air being thus prevented. When the gas is all made the lids are opened and the red hot coke is drawn out. Water is thrown on it, and when cool it is removed and stacked for sale. The moving of the coke is done partly by means of barrows and partly by travelling bands worked by steam. The filling and emptying of the retorts is also sometimes done by a machine, which travels backwards and forwards in two sections, one passing the coal in and the other raking out the coke. The work done by these machines compares favourably, both as to quality and cost, with that done by hand.

The crude gas contains various impurities, and in order to relieve it of these it is first cooled, passing along pipes immersed in cold water, and in so doing it gets rid of tar and water which condense and flow back along the pipes to reservoirs. The gas then passes into a chamber filled with wooden slats or coke, which are kept wet; the wet surface absorbs ammonia and this in turn can be extracted from the water. Other products of value are obtained, and finally lime is used to absorb the sulphur, the result being a bulky waste product. Engines are employed for pumping the gas, &c., through the pipes. When purified and ready for use, the gas passes into the large gasometers, which consist of a telescoping cylinder afloat or balanced in tanks filled with water.

The staff of the gas companies includes a considerable variety of labour, there being, in addition to those directly employed in the manufacture of gas, a large number of mechanics engaged in the construction or repair of retorts and meters, the laying or repair of mains, and general gasfitting, besides clerks, inspectors, collectors, lamplighters, &c.

Hours of work.—At the Vauxhall and Old Kent Road

works of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, the three-shift eight-hour day obtains, but at the four other stations of this company the men have chosen, after a trial of both methods, to go back to the twelve (or rather eleven) hours system, except that at Rotherhithe, the three-shift system obtains in summer, and the two-shift in winter.

The times of employment of the three-shift men are 6 A.M. to 2 P.M., 2 P.M. to 10 P.M., and 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. A gang of these men draw and charge ten retorts every hour, having from fifteen to thirty minutes' rest between each draw.

Under the two-shift system, the hours on duty are from 6 A.M. to 5 P.M. or 6 P.M. to 5 A.M., but the work is so arranged that the last draw takes place at 4 and is over at 4.45. The men draw and charge sixteen retorts every two hours, and as this work occupies rather less than half the time, they have over an hour's interval between each spell of work.

The two-shift men do about one-fifth more work than those on the three-shift system, and receive one-fifth more wages, so that the work on either plan costs the same. Doubtless the longer hours are preferred by some because of the higher pay and the more leisurely method of work. Moreover, the time of leaving off under the three-shift system is often found to be awkward. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon men are not wanted at home—"they are only in the way of the missus," whilst 10 P.M. is too late for evening recreation of a desirable kind.

Labour is continued day and night excepting that on Sunday work stops from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., and for the three-shift men till 10 P.M., when practicable. Advantage is taken of this stoppage to make the change for the two-shift men from day to night, which usually takes place once a fortnight, but is at the men's choice. In the three shifts the change is made in regular rotation, a week or fortnight at each set of hours. Men in other branches work fifty-four

hours a week, or nine and a half on five days and six and a half on Saturdays.

At the works of the Gas Light and Coke Company the three-shift eight-hour day obtains for all men in the carbonising department; the shifts are changed in some cases weekly, in others fortnightly. Overtime is very exceptional, and of Sunday work there is not more than 5 per cent. Men other than those in the carbonising department work for fifty-four hours a week.

In the case of both companies the men in the carbonising department have their meals in the intervals of rest between the draws. In other branches half an hour is allowed for breakfast and an hour for dinner.

Earnings and Profit Sharing.—Information as to general earnings will be found in the complete statistics of wages which are given at the end of this chapter. In the case of the South Metropolitan Company, however, they do not show quite fully the financial position of the men, for in that company, since 1889, a profit-sharing scheme has been in operation. Under the sliding-scale system established by Parliament, the amount of profit divided is, in the case of London Gas Companies, made to depend on the price charged for gas—for every reduction of 1*d* per thousand feet the shareholders are entitled to 5*s* per cent. additional dividend; and, on the other hand, should the price of gas be raised the dividend is to be diminished on the same scale. In 1889 the directors of the South Metropolitan company resolved to extend the principle of the sliding scale to their employees, and offered to those workmen who were willing to sign an agreement, a share in the profits of the company in the form of a percentage on their wages, such percentage to rise when the price of gas is reduced and to fall when it is raised. The starting point with the sliding scale for the employees was fixed at 2*s* 8*d* per thousand feet, and originally 1 per cent. was given for each penny reduction below that sum on the year's

wages of each workman. In 1894, finding that the scheme worked well, the directors made an extension of the principle with the object of making shareholders of all the employees of the company; the bonus was increased to 1½ per cent. (until it reaches 9 per cent., when the further increase is to be at the rate of 1 per cent.) for each penny reduction to any man who is willing to have one-half his bonus on the new scale invested for him, directly it is declared, in the company's ordinary stock, which at the present price pays about 5 per cent. interest. Such investment to be made in the names of three trustees, and to remain until the amount credited to any profit sharer is sufficient to give him a stock certificate in his own name. The remaining half of the bonus on the new scale is to be withdrawable at a week's notice, or it may be left in the company's hands to accumulate at 4 per cent., or be invested in stock with the trustees. Under this scheme, in 1895, with the price of gas at 2*s* 4*d*, the bonus has been 6 per cent.; in 1896 it is confidently expected that the price of gas will be reduced to 2*s* 3*d*, and the bonus raised to 7½ per cent. In November, 1895, 373 workmen held £5830 stock, for which they paid £14,856. Fifty-eight officers held £1055 stock, for which they paid £2680, and the trustees, on behalf of 2304 men and ninety-six officers, held £2995 stock, for which they paid £8092. Perhaps, however, even more interesting than these details of the amount standing to the credit of the men, are the following particulars as to the number of men who withdrew that portion of their bonus which is withdrawable: in 1895, out of 2430 men receiving bonus, 1089, or 44 per cent., withdrew; the average number withdrawing in previous years has been 55 per cent.

The Gas Light and Coke Company have no profit-sharing scheme, but have a Workmen's Provident Society, the object of which is to provide, by subscriptions from the members and by a capitation grant from the company,

a sick, accident and provident fund. There is also a recognized superannuation scheme, under which men of fifty years of age, and of twenty-five years' service, who become incapacitated by illness or accident, receive pensions of one-third their weekly wages, subject to a proportionate diminution in cases where the period of service is less than twenty-five years. The scheme further provides similar pensions under corresponding conditions to all workmen who have attained the age of sixty-five years.

Trade Organization.

So far as the men in this section are organized, they are members of the National Union of Gas-workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland; the exact number so included we are unable to state, as the union—which at the end of 1894 contained about eight thousand members in London, and about seven thousand in the country—admits all kinds of male and female labour. The society was founded in 1890, and in 1891 claimed to have sixty thousand members working in over seventy different occupations, so that it has lost ground a good deal of late years. The entrance fee for men is 1*s* 5*d*, for women 9*d*; the subscription is for men 2*d*, and for women 1*d* per week; with a quarterage of 3*d* and 1½*d* respectively. The union gives no benefit except strike pay at the rate of 10*s* per week for men and 5*s* for women.

The most important of the objects of the union are (1) To shorten hours of labour, and to obtain wherever possible an eight-hour working day. (2) To abolish, wherever possible, overtime and Sunday labour; or, where this is not possible, to obtain payment for such work at an extra charge. (3) To raise wages, and, where women perform the same class of work as men, to obtain for them equal rates of pay.

Wages Statistics.

Under the head of Gas Works Service 5847 males were returned in the 1891 census, of whom 5577 were adults. We have received from the two leading companies full wages returns for summer and winter, showing an average of 8498 men employed by them at gas works within the metropolitan area, but of these only 4976 are directly engaged in the production or distribution of gas, so as to come strictly within this section. Statistics are, however, subjoined for the whole 8498 men, as representing more completely the prevailing rates of remuneration in London gas works.

Average Weekly Earnings of Men Employed in Gas Works.

Occupation.	—20*s*	20*s*—	25*s*—	30*s*—	35*s*—	40*s*—	45*s*—	50*s*—	Total.
Foremen and gangers	—	—	50	32	29	45	91	100	347
Gas-stokers and firemen	81	40	149	546	694	364	112	10	1996
Retort labourers	25	11	25	69	67	15	2	—	214
Coal wheelers	41	59	138	116	23	4	—	—	381
Coke wheelers and spreaders	39	51	111	58	27	12	—	—	298
Coke fillers and backers	50	53	119	161	132	70	43	32	660
Valvemen	19	24	8	19	21	40	10	5	146
Service layers	19	22	100	90	35	22	9	13	310
Pipe layers (mains)	3	5	6	26	13	8	2	1	64
Lamplighters and cleaners	5	387	49	16	15	5	2	4	483
Unclassed	6	3	7	20	13	13	7	8	77
Total of gas-workers	288	655	762	1153	1069	598	278	173	4976
Percentage	5½	13½	15½	23	21½	12	5½	3½	100
Bricklayers and retort setters	5	19	30	24	42	77	4	6	207
Gasfitters, &c.	47	127	124	191	102	20	10	13	634
Carters	—	15	37	16	3	1	—	—	72
Engine-drivers	—	2	3	9	50	25	14	1	104
Boiler attendants	2	5	16	54	26	5	2	—	110
General labourers	181	561	558	192	74	29	21	4	1620
Coal-porters	39	33	61	35	61	30	41	97	397
Others	31	34	62	89	58	52	16	36	378
Total of other workers	305	796	891	610	416	239	108	157	3522
Percentage	8½	22½	25½	17	12	7	3	4½	100
Total of men employed in gas works	593	1451	1653	1763	1485	837	386	330	8498
Percentage	7	17	19½	20½	17½	10	4½	4	100

Nearly all the men are time-workers, the exceptions being the coal-porters and coke-fillers and backers, who are paid at piece rates. It will be observed that for the gas-workers, 30*s* to 40*s* is the most usual rate, whereas for the other men it is 10*s* less, the lower rate being due to the mass of "general labourers" employed.

In this industry the burthen of seasonal irregularity falls almost entirely on those directly employed in the production of gas, the remainder of the employees being practically unaffected numerically. There is as much work for foremen, valvemen, service layers, lamplighters and cleaners in summer as in winter, and amongst bricklayers, labourers, &c., there is even a slight increase in summer, as the time best suited for repairing or renewing plant or laying mains. With the gas-stokers and firemen, however, as with the coal and coke hands and the rest of those whose work directly concerns the production of gas, the seasonal difference is very great, as is shown below :—

	Winter.	Summer.	Percentage Alteration.		
			In numbers.	In average earnings.	Combined.
Foremen gangers, lamplighters, &c.	1421	1436	+1½ %	+2 %	+3 %
Stokers, retort men, coal and coke wheelers	5244	1853	—65½ %	—8 %	—67½ %
Bricklayers, labourers, and others	3468	3574	+3 %	—8 %	—5 %
Total Employees	10,133	6863	—32 %	—7½ %	—37½ %

Two things are to be noted—first, that those of the stokers, &c., who are kept on at all earn practically the same wages as in winter; and second, that some men not needed in one capacity are employed in another; a few of those who stoke or wheel coal in winter being put to bricklaying or labourers' work in summer, with the result that, considered as groups of men, the irregularity is not quite as great as appears.

Social Condition.

It is not easy to make any satisfactory comparison between weekly earnings and style of life as indicated by the number of rooms occupied. We know what these men make while employed by the companies, but who can say what may be the fortunes during the summer months of those whose services are not required at the gas works? Some of them find work in trades whose season is the summer. We know also that others swell the lists of the summer unemployed. Taking the mean between summer and winter as represented by April (census time), we have particulars for 4976 men, or nearly as many as are returned in the census, and for what it may be worth, the following comparison may be made. It will be seen that while only 19 per cent. are returned as earning less than 25*s* a week, 44½ per cent. of the families are living two or more persons to a room.

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Gas Works Service).

Earnings as returned.			*Classification of Population.*		
Under 20*s*...	288, or	5½ per cent.	3 or more in each room,	3000, or 14½ per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*...	655 ,,	13½ ,,	2 to 3 ,,	6250 ,, 30 ,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	762 ,,	15½ ,,	1 to 2 ,,	6200 ,, 29½ ,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	1153 ,,	23 ,,	Less than 1 ,,		
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	1069 ,,	21½ ,,	More than 4 rooms	5400 ,, 26 ,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	598 ,,	12 ,,	4 or more persons to a servant		
45*s* and upwards	451 ,,	9 ,,			
	4976 ,,	100 ,,		20,850 ,, 100 ,,	
			Families of those returned as Employers, or "Neither," and servants	300	
				21,150	

The condition of the families of these men undoubtedly depends mainly upon the regularity of their employment, so that the men who are retained during the summer would be comfortably off, whilst the others lead an irregular uncertain life, and go to make up the large percentage shown of those living in crowded conditions.

CHAPTER III.

WAREHOUSEMEN AND MESSENGERS. (*Section* 73.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Divisions 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
(1) Warehouseman	369	1486	7156	702	9713
(2) Messenger, Porter, &c. ..	1068	31,707	18,146	2922	53,843
TOTAL....	1437	33,193	25,302	3624	63,556

The bulk of those here included are errand boys, and consequently the enormous proportion between the ages of 15 and 20 is not surprising (*see* diagram).

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		17,646	Heads of Families 17,715.
	Females.....		69	
Birthplace	In London	57 %	10,095	
	Out of London	43 %	7620	
Industrial Status....	Employer	1 %	184	
	Employed.....	98 %	17,220	
	Neither	1 %	311	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	T
Total	17,715	15,931	42,153	473	7
Average in family..	1	·89	2·38	0·3	

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W.&C.	S.	Total.
12,107	14,689	16,820	19,940	63,556

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	13,628	17·9
2 & under 3 ,,	20,818	27·4
1 & under 2 ,,	22,078	29·0
Less than 1 ,,		
More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	18,585	24·3
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	553	·7
All others with 2 or more servants ..	135	·1
Servants	473	·6
	76,272	100

DISTRIBUTION.

East	Inner	13,959
	Outer	2259
North	Inner	4099
	Outer	11,841
West	Inner	3024
	Outer	5212
Central	Inner	9564
South-East	Inner	4707
	Outer	7232
South-West	Inner	8430
	Outer	5955

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	53 %	34 %	45 %
Not ,, ..	47 %	66 %	55 %

Inner 43,783, or 57 %
Outer 32,489, or 43 %

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

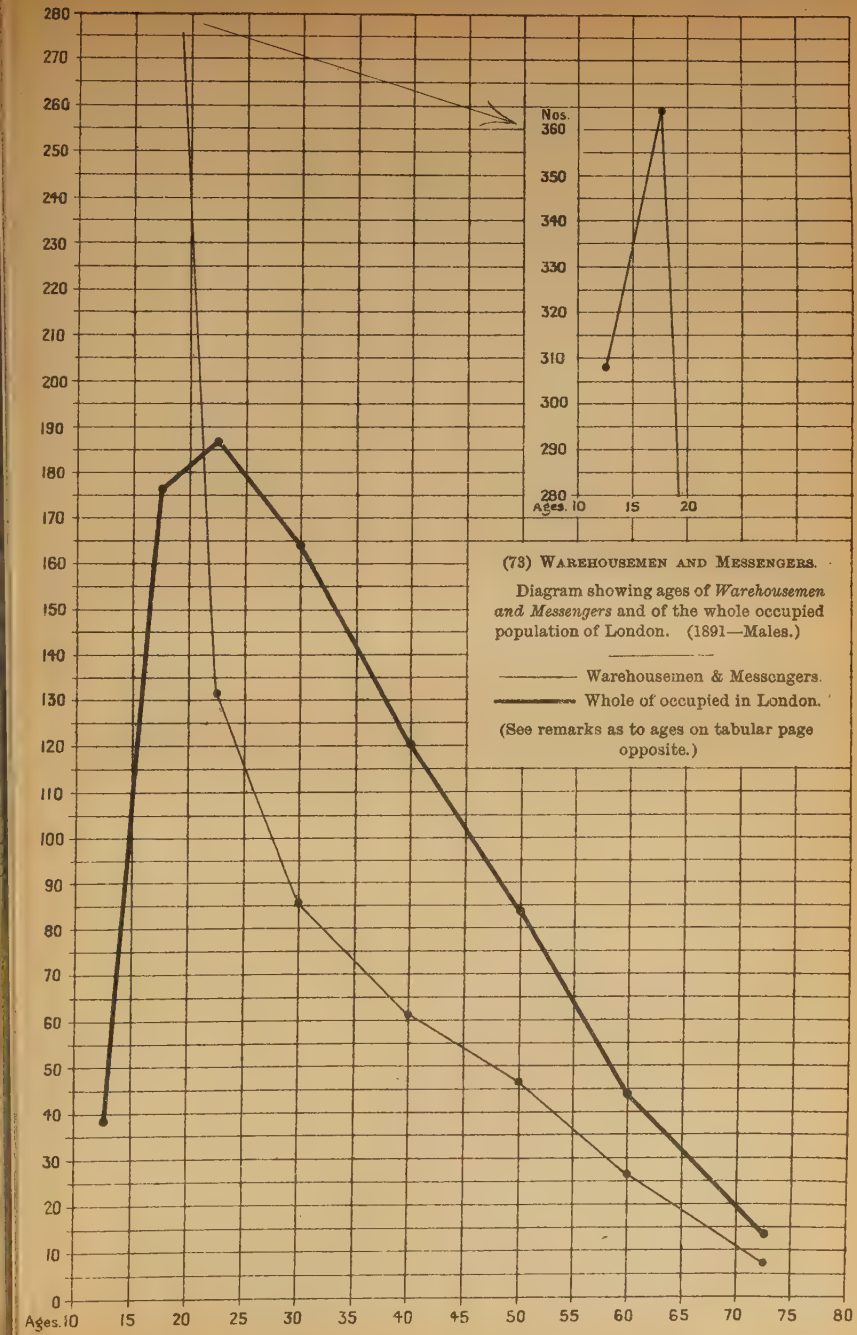
(1) Warehouseman, undefined, warehouse woman, export packer, bonded store and vault keeper, bonded warehouseman, repository keeper.

(2) Porter, watchman, Commissionaire, delivery man, fellowship porter, badge porter, runner, messenger, errand boy, office boy.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

Census Divisions (1891).	Employers.		Employed. Males.		Females of all ages.	Neither Employer nor Employed.		T
	Males.	Females	Under 20.	Over 20.		Males.	Females	
(1) Warehouseman (not Manchester)	151	—	1486	7665	369	42	—	
(2) Messenger, Porter, Watchman.....	—	—	31,707	21,068	1068	—	—	5
TOTAL.....	151	—	33,193	28,733	1437	42	—	6
	151		63,363			42		

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)—



(73) WAREHOUSEMEN AND MESSENGERS.

Diagram showing ages of *Warehousemen and Messengers* and of the whole occupied population of London. (1891—Males.)

Warehousemen & Messengers.

Whole of occupied in London.

(See remarks as to ages on tabular page opposite.)

Warehousemen.

Owing to the indefinite nature of the return in some cases, it is inevitable that the census classification of the population according to trades should fall short of complete accuracy, and doubtless the ambiguous word "warehouseman" has led to some faulty classification. Only those who store goods for others are rightfully included in this section; but any man who returned himself as a warehouseman without further qualification would be placed here, and it is more than likely that some have crept in who belong to the drapery, grocery, and other trades, where all employees, except shop assistants and clerks, are called warehousemen. On the other hand, many of the workers in bonded warehouses, who would rightly be placed here, have undoubtedly returned themselves as labourers, and so appear in the nondescript section which follows this. Owing therefore to the difficulty of knowing exactly with whom one is dealing, and also to the probability that many here returned have been described elsewhere, we shall now refer only to bonded warehousemen, who are clearly the largest class legitimately placed here.

Bonded warehouses are without exception in the neighbourhood of the river and the docks, and the men employed in them are drawn as a rule from the same class as the dock labourer, though, owing to the greater regularity of employment, those who find work in warehouses are probably rather superior to the bulk of the dockers. Since the great strike of 1889, when all bonded warehousemen were called out, none have received less than 6*d* an hour; but many masters have given up paying by the hour, and have either adopted piece-work or pay a weekly wage, which will range from 20*s* to 30*s*. At piece-work men are said to earn more than 6*d* an hour, and one master who has sent us a return puts the sum earned

hourly as $7\frac{1}{4}d$. In a busy week a man would work from fifty-four to sixty-eight hours, and in a slack week from forty to fifty hours, giving weekly earnings ranging from 23*s* to 40*s*.

The official hours in bonded warehouses are from 8 to 4 from March 1st to October 31st, and from 9 to 4 for the rest of the year, but in busy times, at all events, masters pay overtime to the Custom House officials, and continue work till six or later; the average hours of work throughout the year are probably about nine a day.

Since the dock strike a smaller number of men have been employed more permanently at higher wages, and, as at the docks, the weaker men have no doubt gone to the wall.

Export Packers.

Merchants in some cases pack their own goods for export, but the majority make use of the services of firms who devote themselves exclusively to packing.

Packing requires much skill and knowledge, and owing to the growing multiplicity of goods exported, becomes daily more difficult to learn. Yet even in this trade we find that apprenticeship is now almost unknown; an old firm of packers who still have apprentices contemplate discontinuing the system, as they find that the modern apprentice is too exacting.

The wages of foremen range from 50*s* to 80*s* a week; journeymen are paid from 25*s* to 31*s* 6*d*, rising in a very few cases to 40*s*.

The hours usual throughout the trade are from 7 to 7, with an hour and a half for meals, and on Saturday from 7 to 1, or a working week of about sixty-one hours. Overtime, however, is not uncommon, and, except on Saturday, does not generally seem to be paid for.

Work as a rule is slack from the middle of February to

the middle of May, and from the middle of September to the end of November, but few houses ever discharge any of their hands. Owing to the nature of the trade, it is essential that those employed should be steady and respectable, and masters are naturally anxious, as far as possible, to avoid changes in their staff.

Messengers, Porters, &c.

As the census figures clearly show, a large majority of those included in this section are errand and office boys in private employment, and as to these we have not attempted to get any special information. Porters who have mostly been described in connection with the different trades at which they work, need no further reference here, but among messengers, there are several bodies sufficiently large to make some account of them desirable.

Under 30 and 31 Vic. c. 134, the Commissioner of Police may, if he thinks fit, from time to time license messengers to exercise their calling, and appoint places at which they may stand. Until the present year (1895) it has been the custom to issue a free license under this Act to almost any applicant who could produce a sufficient recommendation. The license, though not requiring to be renewed, can be revoked on conviction of misconduct. The number of living licensees is not known, but the standings actually occupied are just over three hundred. There is no tariff of charges for services rendered, and it is impossible to estimate the earnings of the men, but there is no doubt that they seldom amount to more than a few shillings in the course of a week. The messengers are, however, almost without exception unfit, through age or other disability, for work of any arduous character. The system does not appear to be altogether satisfactory, and for some ten years the authorities have been considering the advisability of altering it, and, with a view to such change, they have this year refused to issue further licenses.

The most efficient messenger service of London is due to the enterprise of a private company, which, so far from receiving any public recognition, has been constantly hampered in its operations by the Post Office authorities. This company employs as messengers from six hundred to seven hundred boys, whose wages approximate closely to those of office and errand boys in private firms. They begin work as a rule at about fourteen years of age, and are paid 5*s*, rising by 6*d* a month to 10*s* a week. They are provided, moreover, with a uniform consisting of two coats, three pairs of trousers, and two pairs of boots a year. The hours of duty are ten a day, but as a large staff is kept at each office there is a rest of varying duration between each errand. The position of messenger is much sought after, as the smart appearance of the boys and the chances which the work offers make the service an excellent avenue to better employment, and few remain with the company long after they have reached the 10*s* limit of wage. Of those who do, some may rise to be heads of offices with wages ranging from 25*s* to 47*s* 6*d* a week.

Commissionaires.

The largest body of men included in this section as to whom it is possible to obtain any exact details is the Corps of Commissionaires. This excellent institution was founded in 1859; the monthly average of men on the rolls for that year was fifty-nine; year by year there has been a steady increase, and the monthly average for 1894 was 2031. On October 12th, 1895, the number on the rolls was 2184, of whom 1464 were attached to London. Of these, nearly all were in employment, the majority of them in permanent places. The scale of wages authorised for the different classes of commissionaires is as follows:—For permanent employment: first class sergeants 28*s*, sergeants 26*s*, first class corporals 25*s*, corporals 24*s*, first class commissionaires 23*s*, and commissionaires 22*s*; for temporary employment:

first class sergeants 6*s* per day or 4*s* per half day (*i.e.* after 1 P.M.); sergeants 5*s* per day or 3*s* 6*d* per half day; corporals and first class commissionaires 4*s* 6*d* per day or 3*s* 6*d* per half day. This tariff does not apply to commissionaires of special attainments and high education, whose salaries range from 30*s* to 50*s* per week; nor does the printed standard of wages preclude engagements between employers and commissionaires on such terms as may be found mutually suitable. The tariff for permanent employment is intended only for cases where the engagement is intended to last a year. Ten per cent. is added where a man is engaged for a shorter period. Where whole "board" is given, a deduction is made of 1*s* 4*d* a day, or 9*s* a week; "dinner" only, 5*s* a week; board and lodging, 12*s* a week. We are told that the average wage of men in permanent employment is about 28*s* 6*d* a week, and most of them, no doubt, are in positions where they get something extra as "tips."

The men in temporary work earn, on the average, 20*s* a week, but this would be much higher were it not for the fact that many of them are comfortably off with their pension and savings, and only work occasionally.

Trade Organization.

The only unions which have any connection with this section are:—(1) The Covent Garden Porters' Union, said to contain about three hundred members, but as to which we have been unable to obtain further particulars, and (2) The National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, to which, however, few, if any, of the warehousemen included in this section belong.

Until recently there existed an organization composed of Fellowship Porters of the City of London, but with the gradual decline or curtailment of their ancient privileges the order fell into decay, and is now extinct.

There is a London General Porters' Benevolent Association, the benefits of which are open to porters and messengers in Banks, Insurance Offices, and commercial establishments generally.

Wages Statistics.

Returns have been received from ten firms whose businesses come within this section. They are as follows :—

Bonded Warehousemen.....	2	10 firms employing 638 men.
General ,, ...	4	
Hop ,, ...	1	
Export Packers	3	

Besides these we have particulars of the earnings of a number of messengers, porters, and watchmen—338 in all—who belong to this section, and are employed by various firms representing many kinds of industry. There is a considerable difference in the earnings of the two classes of men, as is shown in the following table :—

	Warehousemen and Packers.	Porters, Messengers, &c.	Together.	
Under 20*s*...	46 or 7 °/₀	117 or 34½ °/₀	163 or 16½ °/₀	66 °/₀
20*s* to 25*s*...	125 ,, 19½ ,,	98 ,, 29 ,,	223 ,, 23 ,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	194 ,, 30½ ,,	65 ,, 19½ ,,	259 ,, 26½ ,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	96 ,, 15 ,,	33 ,, 10 ,,	129 ,, 13 ,,	34 °/₀
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	34 ,, 5½ ,,	15 ,, 4½ ,,	49 ,, 5 ,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	64 ,, 10 ,,	4 ,, 1 ,,	68 ,, 7 ,,	
45*s* and over	79 ,, 12½ ,,	6 ,, 1½ ,,	85 ,, 9 ,,	
	638 ,, 100 °/₀	338 ,, 100 °/₀	976 ,, 100 °/₀	

Amongst warehousemen and packers 57 per cent. earn less than 30*s*, and 7 per cent. less than 20*s* a week, whilst amongst porters and messengers the proportions are 83 per cent. under 30*s* and more than one-third below 20*s* a week. The large percentage of the latter class earning a low wage is due to the fact that old and partially incapacitated men are sometimes retained and employed as watchmen or messengers; whilst in some businesses, such as drapers, partial board is often given and occasionally lodging, with a proportionate reduction of the wage.

Boys' earnings range from 4*s* upwards until they are equal to those of the men, the greater number receiving from 5*s* to 8*s* a week. Of those respecting whom we have particulars 41 per cent. are within these limits.

Social Condition.

Of the 28,926 adult men enumerated in this section, only 17,646 reappear in the social classification as heads of families, about 17,200 being employees. The social condition of these families is shown below.

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Warehousemen, &c.).

Earnings as returned.			*Classification of Population.*		
Under 20*s*	163	16½ °/₀	3 or more in each room,	13,600	18½ °/₀
20*s* & under 25*s*...	223	,, 23 ,,	2 and under 3 ,,	20,800	,, 28 ,,
25*s* ,, 30*s*...	259	,, 26½ ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	22,100	,, 30 ,,
30*s* ,, 35*s*...	129	,, 13 ,,	Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ...	17,200	,, 23½ ,,
35*s* ,, 40*s*...	49	,, 5 ,,			
40*s* ,, 45*s*...	68	,, 7 ,,			
45*s* & over.....	85	,, 9 ,,			
	976	,, 100 ,,		73,700	,, 100 ,,
			Families of those returned as "Employers" or "Neither," with servants	2600	
				76,300	

Thus 39½ per cent. earning under 25*s* compares with 46½ per cent. who are living under crowded conditions, and another 39½ per cent., earning 25*s* to 35*s*, with 30 per cent. of the upper working class living with one or up to two persons in each room, whilst 17 per cent. with wages above 35*s* corresponds to the 23½ per cent. of the central classes.

CHAPTER IV.

UNDEFINED LABOUR.

GENERAL LABOURERS. (*Section* 74.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
General Labourer	231	9478	61,194	8841	79,747

As compared to the whole occupied population, there is here a deficiency of boys and young men, and an excess of those between 35 and 65 years of age. (*See* diagram.)

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
18,457	10,488	14,716	36,086	79,747

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

Tar, pitch, painter, barrack labourer; park, market, or ground labourer; factor or merchant's labourer, outdoor worker, fencer, jobbing labourer, porter, sweeper, pipe layer.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	44,517	Heads of Families 44,551.
	Females	34	
Birthplace	In London 52%	23,404	
	Out of London..48%	21,147	
Industrial Status ..	Employer .....—%	133	
	Employed 98%	43,736	
	Neither 2%	682	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total
Total	44,551	37,691	117,430	103	199,7
Average in family ..	1	0·84	2·64	—	4·48

CLASSIFICATION. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	52,303	26·1
2 & under 3 ,,	64,588	32·4
1 & under 2 ,,	51,966	26·1
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	30,738	15·4
Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servants	69	—
All others with 2 or more servants ..	8	—
Servants	103	—
	199,775	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	70%	51½%	58½%
Not ,, ..	30%	48½%	41½%

DISTRIBUTION.

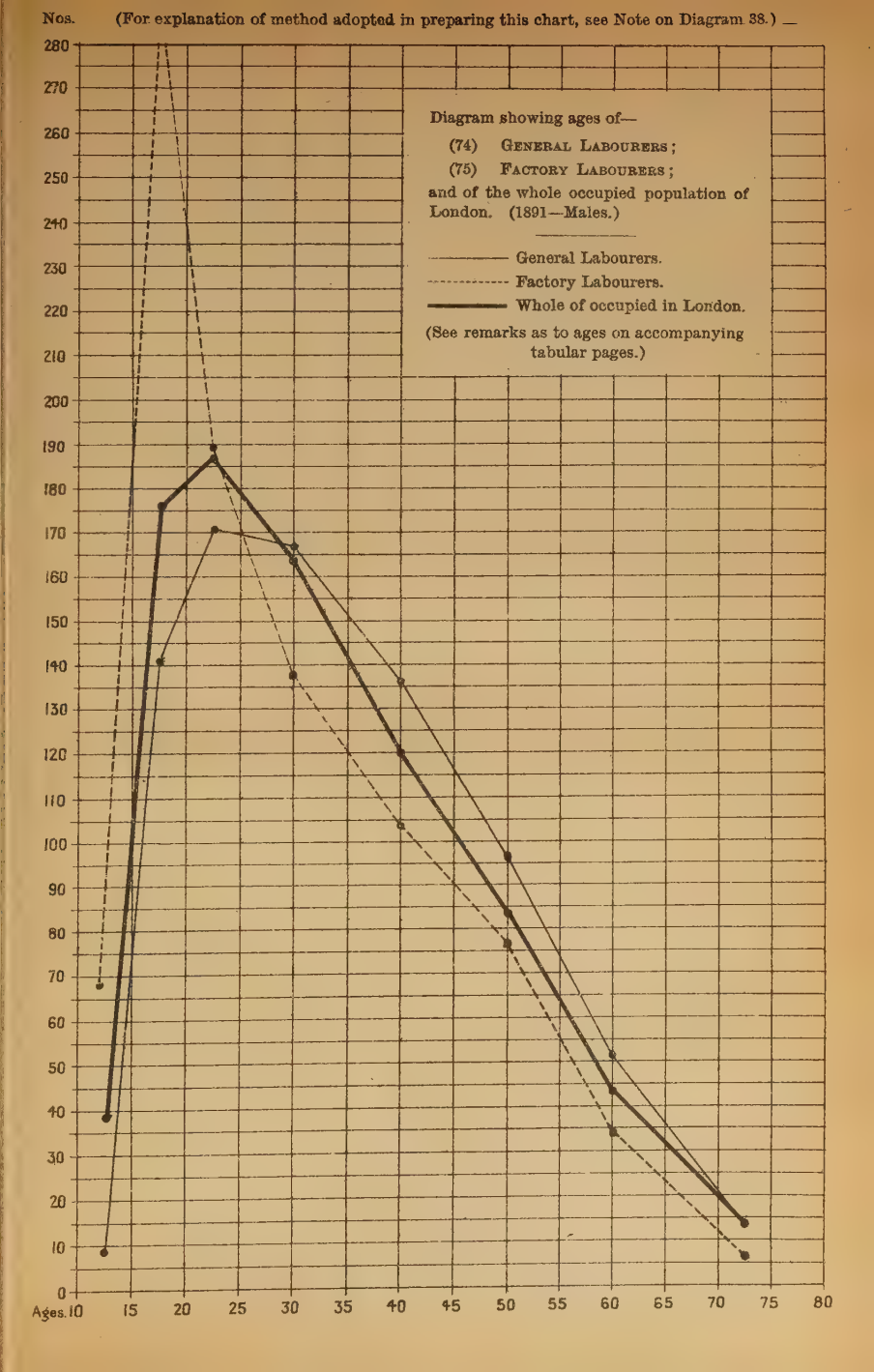
East	Inner 26,931 / Outer 17,157	44,0
North	Inner 5377 / Outer 20,290	25,6
West	Inner 3624 / Outer 24,516	28,1
Central	Inner 8825	8
South-East	Inner 11,947 / Outer 40,494	52,4
South-West	Inner 17,525 / Outer 23,089	40,6
		199,7

Inner 74,229, or 37%
Outer 125,546, or 63%

Status as to Employment (*according to Census Enumeration*).

Employers form such a minute proportion of those returned in this sectio that they may, for practical purposes, be ignored. Consequently they a not separately stated in the census.

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.) —



FACTORY LABOURERS. (*Section* 75.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Census Division, 1891.	Females. All Ages.	Males. —19	Males. 20—54	Males. 55—	Total.
Factory labourers	1624	1965	4579	463	8631

Contrary to what is the case with the general labourers, we have here a remarkably large proportion of boys and young men. There is, however, such a great disparity of numbers, that the one cannot be set against the other. It seems evident, however, that young men are preferred for the more regular employment of the factory.

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males		3454	Heads of Families 3544.
	Females		90	
Birthplace	In London	53%	1883	
	Out of London	47%	1661	
Industrial Status	Employer	1%	34	
	Employed	98%	3490	
	Neither	1%	20	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Tot
Total.	3544	2976	9160	10	15,6
Average in family ..	1	·84	2·59	—	4·4

Distribution.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
1522	1491	1245	4373	8631

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

Numbers living in Families.		%
3 or more to a room	2216	14·2
2 & under 3 ,,	4314	27·5
1 & under 2 ,,	5318	33·9
Less than 1 ,, / More than 4 rooms / 4 or more persons to a servant ..	3829	24·4
Less than 4 to a servant and 4 or more to 2 servants	3	—
All others with 2 or more servants ..	—	—
Servants	10	—
	15,690	100

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 1805 / Outer 751	25
North	Inner 379 / Outer 1828	22
West ..	Inner 314 / Outer 593	9
Central	Inner 1210	12
South-East	Inner 607 / Outer 5723	63
South-West	Inner 1381 / Outer 1099	24
		15,6

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded ..	52 %	36 %	41½ %
Not ,, ..	48 %	64 %	58½ %

Inner 5696, or 36 %
Outer 9994, or 64 %

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

Packer, store-keeper, engine cleaner, furnace labourer, storeman, half-timer.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

The census does not specify the industrial status of this section, bu naturally it consists almost entirely of the wage-earning class.

General Labourers.

In describing, trade by trade, the different industries of London, we hav in several cases noted that the numbers returned in the census wer inadequate. We now come to the sections in which, principally unde the heading of "General labour," those missing from the returns o

these particular trades are included. So that, in dealing here with the 90,000 persons who are vaguely described as "general labourers" and "factory labourers," we are not altogether in the dark as to their actual means of livelihood. Thus we have every reason to believe that fully 10,000 of them belong to the building trades; that another 10,000 are dock labourers, lightermen, &c.; that a further 5000 are coal-porters or gas-workers, and that fully 3000 belong to the chemical, soap, and tallow trades, or mills, sugar refineries, &c.; whilst railway and municipal labour are no doubt largely represented. In all, therefore, we have some 30,000 to 40,000 men whose general conditions of employment have been already described, though it must be remembered that they will belong to the lowest and most poorly paid branches of their respective trades, so that the elimination of them from the figures of their proper sections may have made the returns for these sections too favourable.

But besides those who appear here owing to insufficient definition, there is no doubt a large body of men unattached to any particular trade for whom general labourer is the most fitting term; and of their position, so indefinite is it, we can form no more than a guess. Though probably in most cases their work is of an uncertain and intermittent character, it does not necessarily follow that their hourly or weekly earnings are always small. Among such men would be included market porters, who, as we have shown in the section on food, are paid at a high rate while actually at work, and in some cases earn a large sum weekly. In a similar position would probably be navvies, and other men of like standing, whose work requires great physical strength.

After allowing, however, for those who are rightly included in this section, and for those who would more properly be placed elsewhere, there are a large number still unaccounted for; and amongst them the members of our class A—loafers, cadgers and semi-criminals—doubtless

figure largely. To such as these, the vague term "labourer" —misnomer though it be—is a convenient one to use, and we find it adopted by the vast majority of the inhabitants of common lodging-houses, more particularly of the lowest order. Of them and their devious ways something has been said in the earlier volumes of this work, and the subject must be returned to in considering the agencies which attempt to deal with them.

Trade Organization.

The following Unions belong to this section:—

1. The General Labourers' Amalgamated Union, founded in 1892; admits builders' labourers, navvies, labourers in iron trades, and all other unskilled labourers. At the end of 1893, there were eighteen branches in London, with 2940 members. The entrance fee varies from 1*s* 6*d* to 3*s*, according to age; the subscription is 3*d* per week. The union gives strike pay, and accident and death benefits.

2. London and Counties Labour League, founded in 1872; admits every kind of unskilled labour. In 1893 there were eight branches in London, with about 2000 members, but so rapidly have the numbers declined since then that in October, 1895, there was only one branch with about fifty members. The entrance fee for trade benefits only is 1*s*, with a subscription of 2*d* per week; the entrance fee to the Accident Fund is 6*d*, and subscription 1*d* per week; to the Sick and Funeral Fund the entrance fee is 1*s*, and the subscriptions vary from 5*d* to 8*d*, according to age on entrance. This union is stated to have suffered considerably, owing to the contributions to the Sick Fund having been originally placed on too low a scale. Much money, too, has been lost over a co-operative pottery, started by the union in 1891.

3. The Navvies, Bricklayers' Labourers', and General Labourers' Union, founded in 1890. At the end of 1894,

the members numbered slightly over 10,000, of whom 4500 were in London. The union gives strike, sick, funeral, accident, and travelling benefit, and attributes its substantial position to the fact that, contrary to the general practice of labour unions, it offers both trade and sick benefits. There seems to be no entrance fee; but the subscription is 2*d* per week, and 2*d* quarterage for trade purposes, and from 4*d* to 6*d* per week for other benefits.

4. The United Brickworkers' and Brick-wharf Labourers' Union, founded in 1891; admits (*a*) brickworkers, *i.e.* men who unload barges of bricks and cement; these men are paid by the piece, and are discharged at the end of each job; (*b*) brick-wharf labourers, engaged in loading carts on the wharf; these men are paid by the day, and are kept on as regular hands. The union has two branches in London with 111 members, most of whom are brickworkers. The entrance fee is 2*s* 6*d* and the subscription 2½*d* per week, in return for which strike and funeral benefits are given.

5. The Mechanics' Labourers' Union, founded in 1889; has two branches in London, with about 100 members. The entrance fee is 2*s* 3*d*, and the subscription 2*d* per week, with a levy for death benefits. The union gives death, accident, and strike benefit.

6. Hammersmith and District Labour Union, founded in 1888 as a branch of the National Federation of Trades and Industries (now dead), admits all labourers and workers of any unorganized calling, and has a little over 100 members. The entrance fee is 6*d* and the weekly subscription 2*d*, with 6*d* quarterage. The union gives strike and legal defence benefits only.

Wages Statistics.

Concerning the earnings of the 70,000 adult men returned as "general labourers," whose work supplements that of men engaged in many industries, we have to rely upon the

returns made by employers in trades previously described. From these sources we have particulars of the earnings of 2335 men as under :—

Under 20*s*	304, or 13	per cent.	Under 30*s*, 78 per cent.
20*s* to 25*s*	698 ,, 30	,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*	819 ,, 35	,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*	319 ,, 13½	,,	30*s* and over, 22 per cent.
35*s* ,, 40*s*	115 ,, 5	,,	
40*s* ,, 45*s*	47 ,, 2	,,	
45*s* and over	33 ,, 1½	,,	
	2335 ,, 100	,,	

The greater number are found earning amounts between 20*s* and 30*s*, not one in four exceeding the latter sum.

Social Condition.

Of general labourers, about 43,700 adult males are employed heads of families. The condition of their families, as indicated by the rooms occupied, reveals a considerable degree of poverty, as is seen in the following table :—

Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (General Labourers).

Earnings as returned.		*Classification of Population.*		
Under 20*s*	304, or 13 °/₀	3 or more to a room,	52,300, or 26½ °/₀	
20*s* & under 25*s*	698 ,, 30 ,,	2 & under 3 ,,	64,600 ,, 33 ,,	
25*s* ,, 30*s*	819 ,, 35 ,,	1 ,, 2 ,,	51,900 ,, 26½ ,,	
30*s* ,, 35*s*	319 ,, 13½ ,,	Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant	27,000 ,, 14 ,,	
35*s* ,, 40*s*	115 ,, 5 ,,			
40*s* ,, 45*s*	47 ,, 2 ,,			
45*s* & over	33 ,, 1½ ,,			
	2335 ,, 100 ,,		195,800 ,, 100 ,,	
		Families of those returned as "Employers" or "Neither," and Servants	3900	
			199,700	

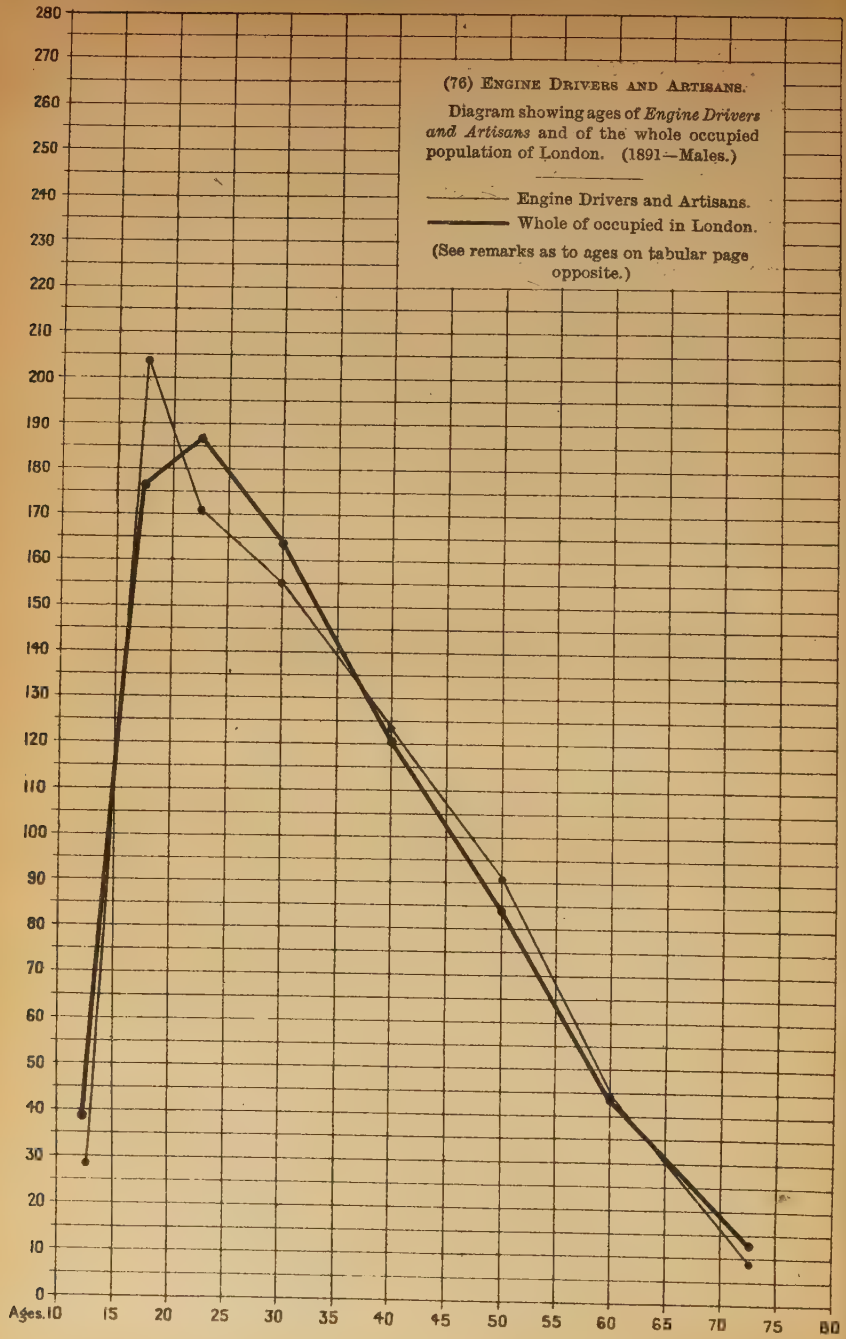
Thus we have 43 per cent. of the men earning under 25*s* a week, as compared with 59½ per cent. crowded in their homes. The difference is not greater than might be expected in a section which includes a large number of men whose income is uncertain at all times.

Factory labourers are a younger set of men, of whom about 3410 are employed heads of families. We have no particulars as to their earnings, but they live under better conditions than the general labourers: their homes are not so crowded, nor are the families quite so large as those of the elder men:—

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Factory Labourers).

3 or more persons to each room	2200, or	14	per cent.	Crowded 42 %
2 and under 3 ,,	4300 ,,	28	,,	
1 ,, 2 ,,	5300 ,,	34½	,,	Not crowded 58 %
Less than 1 ,, ... / More than 4 rooms ... ... / 4 or more persons to a servant...	3600 ,,	23½	,,	
	15,400 ,,	100	,,	
Families of those returned as "Employers" or "Neither," & servants	250			
	15,650			

Nos. (For explanation of method adopted in preparing this chart, see Note on Diagram 38.)



ARTISANS AND ENGINE DRIVERS (UNDEFINED). (*Section* 76.)

Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.

Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	
an(undef.)	1312	2664	6755	885	11,616
ne Driver tory, &c.)	—	430	5309	677	6416
OTAL	1312	3094	12,064	1562	18,032

ge line shows more than the normal ion of youths, and a deficiency of men. Otherwise it follows closely the whole occupied population. (*See* n.)

Enumerated by Families.

Sex	Males	9599	Heads of Families, 9700.
	Females	101	
Birthplace	In London 49%	4754	
	Out of London .. 51%	4946	
Industrial Status ..	Employer 3%	301	
	Employed 92%	8966	
	Neither 5%	433	

Total Population concerned.

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total	9700	8889	26,520	281	45,390
Average in family ..	1	·92	2·73	·03	4·68

Distribution.

N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
3178	3225	8091	18,032

Classification. *For full details see Appendix (Part V.).*

Numbers living in families.		%
3 or more to a room	5248	11·6
2 & under 3 ,,	11,436	25·1
1 & under 2 ,,	13,586	30·1
Less than 1 ,, More than 4 rooms 4 or more persons to a servant ..	14,572	32·1
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants	205	·4
All others with 2 or more servants ..	62	·1
Servants	281	·6
	45,390	100

	Inner.	Outer.	Together.
Crowded..	50%	30%	37%
Not ,, ..	50%	70%	63%

Distribution.

East ..	Inner 5024, Outer 3665	8689
North	Inner 1096, Outer 5717	6813
West ..	Inner 821, Outer 3895	4716
Central	Inner 2671	2671
South-East	Inner 2843, Outer 9563	12,406
South-West	Inner 3832, Outer 6263	10,095
		45,390

Inner 16,287, or 36 %
Outer 29,103, or 64 %

Details of Occupations (from the Census Dictionary).

hanic, apprentice, annealer, assayer, gner, draughtsman, enameler, engraver, modeller, pattern-maker, refiner, aper, stillman, varnisher, trimmer, dyman, journeyman, improver, workman, workwoman.

er, fireman (not railway or marine), an craneman, boiler cleaner.

Status as to Employment (according to Census Enumeration).

e Census does not distinguish the industrial status of those here ned, but the proportion of "Employers," or "Neither," is quite small.

Engine Drivers and Stokers (not Railway nor Marine).

e only persons represented in this section who require description are e drivers and stokers, other than those engaged in railway or marine The recognized rate of wages of the various classes of engine men who under this heading is for Scotch derrick and steam navvy and crane rs, $8\frac{1}{2}d$ per hour; for locomotive drivers, $8d$; for steam crane, traction

engine, road roller, and stationary engine drivers, $7\frac{1}{2}d$ an hour; for portable engine and steam hammer drivers, $7d$; and for boiler attendants, $6\frac{1}{2}d$. In small establishments the engine driver attends to his own fire, but where there is a large amount of machinery a stoker or fireman will be employed. These men earn $6d$ or $6\frac{1}{2}d$ per hour, but are often paid a weekly wage, 26*s* to 28*s* being the usual amount. Hours vary from about 52 to 60 per week, in accordance with the custom of the trade worked with, and the rate of pay for overtime is similarly affected.

Trade Organization.

The Amalgamated Protective Union of Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, Hydraulic and Boiler Attendants, founded in 1889, has eight branches in London, with a membership of about 800. The entrance fee is 1*s* and subscription 3*d* per week. The union gives death, strike, out of work, and accident benefits.

Wages Statistics.

Respecting the 13,626 adult men returned in this section, we have particulars of the earnings of 690, abstracted from the wages statements made by employers in many trades. The figures are as follows:—

Under 20*s*	56, or	8 per cent.	} Under 30*s*, 30 per cent.	
20*s* to 25*s*	55 ,,	8 ,,		
25*s* ,, 30*s*	96 ,,	14 ,,		
30*s* ,, 35*s*	155 ,,	$22\frac{1}{2}$,,	} 30*s* and over, 70 per cent.	
35*s* ,, 40*s*	158 ,,	23 ,,		
40*s* ,, 45*s*	92 ,,	$13\frac{1}{2}$,,		
45*s* and upwards	78 ,,	11 ,,		
	690 ,,	100 ,,		

Nearly all the men are engine drivers and stokers, and their work is fairly regular, as even when trade is depressed, machinery must be kept in order even if not kept going; whilst, as the wage is generally a weekly rate, differences in amount are mainly due to overtime. For most of these men particulars of busy and slack weeks are given. These

show that in the slack week there was a reduction of 10 per cent. in the number of men employed, and 3½ per cent. in the average amount earned, or a combined reduction of 12½ per cent. compared with the busy week. The average wage of the 668 men returned in the busy week was 34*s* 10*d*, whilst the 607 employed in the slack week averaged 33*s* 8*d*.

Social Condition.

Of the 13,626 adult men in this section, 9599 are returned as heads of families in the social classification, of whom about 8880 would be employees. Our wages returns, as already indicated, only refer to the engine driver and stoker section of those here included, any statistics as to the earnings of the men indefinitely returned as "artisans, mechanics, &c.," being rendered impossible by the fact that we do not know to what trades they belong. Therefore, no valid comparison between earnings and style of life can be made, but particulars are given on the latter point:

Classification of Population according to Style of Life (Engine Drivers, &c.).

3 or more in each room	5200, or 12½ per cent.	Crowded	
2 and under 3 ,, ...	11,400, ,, 27 ,,	Crowded	39½ %
1 ,, 2 ,, ...	13,600, ,, 32½ ,,		
Less than 1 ,, ...		Not crowded	
More than 4 rooms	11,800, ,, 28 ,,	Not crowded	60½ %
4 or more persons to a servant ...			
	42,000 100 ,,		
Families of those returned as "Employers" or "Neither," & servts.	3400		
	45,400		

END OF VOL. VII.

[In Vol. VIII., to be published shortly, the Industrial Analysis of the Population of London will be concluded, and the general results of the investigation summarized and considered.]

APPENDIX.

PART I.—DRESS.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(38.) Tailors.		(39.) Boot and Shoe Makers.		(40.) Hatters.		(41.) Dress-makers and Milliners.		(42.) Shirt-mak
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Poplar	2272	2·5	3654	3·8	148	1·5	862	2·0	617
Mile End Old Town and Stepney	7885	8·6	4853	5·0	449	4·6	1123	2·6	977
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel	17,725	19·3	7654	7·9	964	9·8	899	2·0	370
Bethnal Green	2342	2·5	12,222	12·7	397	4·1	643	1·5	483
Shoreditch	2648	2·9	7854	8·1	327	3·3	1498	3·4	732
Total of East London	32,872	35·8	36,237	37·5	2285	23·3	5025	11·5	3179
Hackney	2963	3·2	10,547	10·9	361	3·7	2930	6·7	1081
Islington	3757	4·1	4622	4·8	476	4·8	4514	10·3	1236
St. Pancras	4362	4·7	3895	4·0	247	2·5	3156	7·2	841
Marylebone and Hampstead	6309	6·9	4019	4·2	161	1·7	4447	10·2	806
Total of North London	17,391	18·9	23,083	23·9	1245	12·7	15,047	34·4	3964
Paddington	1785	1·9	1581	1·6	110	1·1	1969	4·5	421
St. George's, Hanover Square	3044	3·3	1317	1·3	102	1·0	2014	4·6	698
Kensington	1901	2·1	2070	2·2	115	1·2	2116	4·8	476
Chelsea	1741	1·9	1634	1·7	77	·8	1356	3·1	300
Fulham	2559	2·7	2561	2·7	136	1·4	1878	4·3	308
Total of West London	11,030	11·9	9163	9·5	540	5·5	9333	21·3	2203
City	1712	1·9	657	·7	92	·9	188	·4	211
Holborn	2999	3·3	2870	3·0	357	3·6	1487	3·4	783
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles	8274	9·0	2892	3·0	211	2·1	787	1·8	384
Total of Central London	12,985	14·2	6419	6·7	660	6·6	2462	5·6	1378
Woolwich	1371	1·5	967	1·0	63	·6	348	·8	637
Greenwich	1292	1·4	1666	1·7	351	3·6	942	2·1	703
St. Olave, Southwark	1119	1·2	1619	1·7	797	8·1	864	2·0	868
Camberwell	2450	2·7	3910	4·0	1317	13·4	2293	5·2	1193
Lewisham	826	·9	1190	1·2	76	·8	742	1·8	163
Total of South-East London	7058	7·7	9352	9·6	2604	26·5	5189	11·9	3564
St. Saviour, Southwark	2905	3·2	5199	5·4	1430	14·6	2232	5·1	1210
Lambeth	3279	3·6	3478	3·6	651	6·6	2525	5·8	1133
Wandsworth	4356	4·7	3683	3·8	412	4·2	1891	4·4	695
Total of South-West London	10,540	11·5	12,360	12·8	2493	25·4	6648	15·3	3038
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON	91,876	100	96,614	100	9827	100	43,704	100	17,326

PART I.—DRESS (*continued*).

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population (continued).*

(43.) Machinists.		(44.) Trimmings, Artificial Flowers, & Umbrella makers.		(45.) Drapers and Hosiers.		Total.		Registration Districts.
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
393	5·9	569	2·5	741	2·2	9256	2·9	Poplar.
429	6·4	894	4·0	1191	3·5	17,801	5·5	Mile End Old Town and Stepney.
230	3·4	1184	5·2	631	1·8	29,657	9·2	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.
217	3·2	2001	8·9	600	1·7	18,905	5·9	Bethnal Green.
345	5·1	2393	10·6	754	2·2	16,551	5·1	Shoreditch.
614	24·0	7041	31·2	3917	11·4	92,170	28·6	Total of East London.
259	3·9	2157	9·6	3346	9·7	23,644	7·3	Hackney.
569	8·5	2352	10·4	3423	9·9	20,949	6·4	Islington.
278	4·1	932	4·1	1391	4·1	15,102	4·7	St. Pancras.
100	1·5	785	3·5	2132	6·2	18,759	5·8	Marylebone and Hampstead.
206	18·0	6226	27·6	10,292	29·9	78,454	24·2	Total of North London.
35	·5	252	1·1	1043	3·0	7196	2·2	Paddington.
100	1·5	329	1·4	797	2·3	8401	2·6	St. George's, Hanover Square.
36	·5	300	1·3	1226	3·6	8240	2·5	Kensington.
72	1·1	184	·9	631	1·8	5995	1·9	Chelsea.
57	·9	339	1·5	1979	5·8	9817	3·1	Fulham.
300	4·5	1404	6·2	5676	16·5	39,649	12·3	Total of West London.
57	·9	189	·9	206	·7	3312	1·0	City.
267	4·0	1958	8·7	776	2·2	11,497	3·6	Holborn.
87	1·3	826	3·7	590	1·7	14,051	4·3	Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles.
411	6·2	2973	13·3	1572	4·6	28,860	8·9	Total of Central London.
151	17·1	217	1·0	402	1·2	5156	1·6	Woolwich.
364	5·4	386	1·7	1300	3·8	7004	2·1	Greenwich.
353	5·2	508	2·2	544	1·6	6672	2·1	St. Olave, Southwark.
322	4·8	945	4·2	2237	6·5	14,667	4·6	Camberwell.
19	·3	255	1·1	1292	3·7	4563	1·4	Lewisham.
209	32·8	2311	10·2	5775	16·8	38,062	11·8	Total of South-East London.
310	4·6	920	4·1	1347	3·9	15,553	4·8	St. Saviour, Southwark.
361	5·4	912	4·0	2473	7·2	14,812	4·6	Lambeth.
304	4·5	780	3·4	3325	9·7	15,446	4·8	Wandsworth.
975	14·5	2612	11·5	7145	20·8	45,811	14·2	Total of South-West London.
6715	100	22,567	100	34,377	100	323,006	100	GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON.

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

	Classification.	(38.) Tailors.		(39.) Boot and Shoe makers.		(40.) Hatters.		(41.) Dress-make and Millin
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Without Servants.	Families averaging—							
	1. 4 or more persons to a room	6746	*7·3*	7580	*7·9*	522	*5·3*	1250
	2. 3 and under 4 persons to a room...	10,143	*11·1*	10,931	*11·4*	708	*7·3*	2305
	3. 2 and under 3 persons to a room...	19,856	*21·6*	24,788	*25·6*	1759	*17·9*	7082
		36,745	40·0	43,299	44·9	2989	30·5	10,637
	4. 1 and under 2 persons to a room...	21,849	23·8	23,422	24·2	2406	24·4	14·913
	5. Less than 1 person to a room.....	2977	*3·2*	2997	*3·1*	355	*3·6*	3842
	6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly householders) ...	20,757	*22·6*	21,987	*22·8*	2957	*30·1*	8231
With Servants.*	Families averaging—							
	A 4 or more persons to 1 servant ...	5532	*6·1*	2895	*3·0*	568	*5·8*	2227
		29,266	31·9	27,879	28·9	3880	39·5	14,300
	B 1 to 3 persons to 1 servant, &c. ...	1815	2·0	877	·9	250	2·6	1676
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c....	400	*·4*	167	*·2*	51	*·5*	548
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c....	54	—	43	—	10	*·1*	113
		454	·4	210	·2	61	·6	661
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c....	11	—	21	—	7	—	23
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c....	4	—	—	—	—	—	1
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c....	2	—	—	—	—	—	4
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		17	—	21	—	7	—	28
	Servants	1730	*1·9*	906	*·9*	234	*2·4*	1489
	GRAND TOTAL.....	91,876	100	96,614	100	9827	100	43,704

* *The subjoined table shows in full detail the manne*

Class.	Families with		
	1 Servant.	2 Servants.	3 Servants.
A	4 or more persons	—	—
B	1, 2, or 3 persons	4 or more persons	—
C	—	1, 2, or 3 persons	5 or more person
D	—	—	3 or 4 persons
E	—	—	1 or 2 persons
F	—	—	—
		(and all other cases in which there	
G	—	—	—
H	—	—	—
		(and all other cases in which there	

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population (continued).*

(42.) Shirt-makers.		(43.) Machinists.		(44.) Trimmings, Artificial Flowers, & Umbrella makers.		(45.) Drapers and Hosiers.		Total.		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
759	*4·4*	325	*4·9*	1223	*5.4*	446	*1·3*	18,851	*5·8*	Without servants, 282,766, or 76,449 families = 3·83 persons per family.
1396	*8·0*	653	*9·7*	2110	*9·4*	646	*1·9*	28,892	*9·0*	
4026	*23·2*	1877	*27·9*	4672	*20·7*	2320	*6·7*	66,380	*20·5*	
6181	35·6	2855	42·5	8005	35·5	3412	9·9	114,123	35·3	
7373	42·6	2404	35·8	5282	23·4	4810	14·0	82,459	25·6	
910	*5·2*	281	*4·2*	897	*3·9*	1246	*3·6*	13,505	*4·2*	
2178	*12·6*	1034	*15·4*	5290	*23·5*	10,245	*29·8*	72,679	*22·5*	
324	*1·9*	100	*1·5*	1318	*5·9*	6532	*19·1*	19,496	*6·1*	With servants, 31,922, or 6198 families = 5·15 persons per family.
3412	19·7	1415	21·1	7505	33·3	18,023	52·5	105,680	32·8	
142	·8	14	·2	802	3·5	3939	11·5	9515	2·9	
43	·4	3	—	213	*1·0*	843	*2·4*	2268	·7	
17		—	—	32	*·1*	132	*·4*	401	*·1*	
60	·4	3	—	245	1·1	975	*2·8*	2669	·8	
1	—	—	—	42	*·2*	83	*·3*	188	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	28	*·1*	33	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	13	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	8	—	
1	—	—	—	42	*·2*	126	*·4*	242	—	
157	*·9*	24	*·4*	686	*3·0*	3092	*8·9*	8318	*2·6*	8,318
17,326	100	6715	100	22,567	100	34,377	100	323,006	100	323,006

ich all servant-keeping families have been classified :—

Families with			
4 Servants.	5 Servants.	6 Servants.	7 Servants.
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
or more persons	—	—	—
or 6 persons	7 or more persons	—	—
or 4 persons	5 or 6 persons	8 or more persons	—
or 2 persons	3 or 4 persons	5 or 6 persons	6 or 7 persons
ver servants than members of family)			
—	1 or 2 persons	3 or 4 persons	4 or 5 persons
—	—	1 or 2 persons	—
ore servants than members of family)			

PART II.—FOOD AND DRINK TRADES.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(46.) Millers, Sugar Refiners, &c.		(47.) Brewers and Mineral Water Manufacturers.		(48.) Tobacco Manufacturers.		(49.) Bakers and Confectioners.		(50.) Milk-seller	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poplar	583	10·0	337	2·5	630	3·2	1865	3·5	760	3
Mile End, Old Town and Stepney	406	7·0	1501	11·3	2067	10·6	2781	5·3	1037	4
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel	535	9·2	486	3·6	3849	19·8	1508	2·8	475	1
Bethnal Green	166	2·9	709	5·3	1160	6·0	1655	3·1	526	2
Shoreditch	123	2·1	363	2·7	849	4·4	1260	2·4	535	2
Total of East London	1813	31·2	3396	25·4	8555	44·0	9069	17·1	3333	13
Hackney	186	3·2	364	2·7	1221	6·3	3570	6·8	1597	6
Islington	314	5·4	584	4·4	1043	5·4	4457	8·4	2218	8
St. Pancras	115	2·0	602	4·5	631	3·3	2748	5·2	1584	6
Marylebone and Hampstead	48	·8	376	2·8	562	2·9	2275	4·3	1438	5
Total of North London	663	11·4	1926	14·4	3457	17·9	13,050	24·7	6837	26
Paddington	37	·6	132	1·0	280	1·4	1417	2·7	903	3
St. George's, Hanover Square	51	·9	755	5·6	249	1·3	1166	2·2	673	2
Kensington	64	1·1	203	1·5	275	1·4	1856	3·5	1254	4
Chelsea	23	·4	108	·8	176	·9	1222	2·3	590	2
Fulham	190	3·3	424	3·2	550	2·9	2474	4·7	1410	5
Total of West London	365	6·3	1622	12·1	1530	7·9	8135	15·4	4830	18
City	21	·3	71	·5	481	2·5	452	·9	218	
Holborn	82	1·4	639	4·8	668	3·4	1581	3·0	711	2
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles	51	·9	712	5·3	566	2·9	1154	2·1	620	2
Total of Central London	154	2·6	1422	10·6	1715	8·8	3187	6·0	1549	6
Woolwich	141	2·4	114	·9	141	·7	1056	2·0	423	1
Greenwich	343	5·9	409	3·1	353	1·8	2234	4·2	887	3
St. Olave, Southwark	590	10·1	624	4·7	242	1·2	2455	4·6	507	2
Camberwell	278	4·8	986	7·3	777	4·0	2978	5·6	1450	6
Lewisham	139	2·4	172	1·3	237	1·2	1220	2·3	907	3
Total of S.-East London	1491	25·6	2305	17·3	1750	8·9	9943	18·7	4174	16
St. Saviour's, Southwark	359	6·2	1033	7·7	852	4·4	2504	4·7	873	3
Lambeth	308	5·3	815	6·1	828	4·3	3408	6·4	1951	7
Wandsworth	661	11·4	847	6·4	757	3·8	3731	7·0	1991	7
Total of S.-West London	1328	22·9	2695	20·2	2437	12·5	9643	18·1	4815	18
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON	5814	100	13,366	100	19,444	100	53,027	100	25,538	100

PART II.—FOOD AND DRINK TRADES (*continued*).

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population* (*continued*).

(51.) Butchers and Fishmongers.		(52.) Grocers and Oilmen.		(53.) Publicans.		(54.) Lodging and Coffee-house Keepers.		Total.		Registration Districts.
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1,257	3·1	2735	3·6	2304	3·8	1025	2·4	12,696	3·4	Poplar.
1,925	4·9	3167	4·2	3299	5·4	1123	2·6	19,306	5·1	Mile End Old Town and Stepney.
1,566	3·2	2659	3·6	2104	3·4	1028	2·4	15,210	4·1	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.
1,283	3·4	2022	2·7	1796	3·0	619	1·4	11,436	3·1	Bethnal Green.
1,115	3·0	1642	2·2	1943	3·2	867	2·0	9,997	2·7	Shoreditch.
7,146	17·6	12,225	16·3	11,446	18·8	4662	10·8	68,645	18·4	Total of East London.
2,387	6·1	4500	6·0	3270	5·3	1269	3·0	20,864	5·5	Hackney.
3,201	9·0	5629	7·5	3492	5·7	2728	6·4	27,666	7·3	Islington.
1,480	4·3	3740	5·0	3759	6·1	3015	7·0	19,674	5·2	St. Pancras.
1,679	4·6	3312	4·4	3182	5·2	3755	8·7	18,627	4·9	Marylebone and Hampstead.
9,247	24·0	17,181	22·9	13,703	22·3	10,767	25·1	86,831	22·9	Total of North London.
1,236	2·9	1971	2·6	1416	2·3	4034	9·5	12,426	3·3	Paddington.
1,042	2·4	1684	2·3	2273	3·7	3265	7·6	12,058	3·2	St. George's, Hanover Square.
1,053	3·7	2753	3·7	1889	3·1	2906	6·8	14,153	3·7	Kensington.
730	2·2	1750	2·3	1080	1·8	913	2·1	7592	2·0	Chelsea.
1,495	4·3	3669	4·9	2074	3·4	1514	3·5	15,800	4·2	Fulham.
6,356	15·5	11,827	15·8	8732	14·3	12,632	29·5	62,029	16·4	Total of West London.
566	·7	560	·7	1749	2·9	1098	2·6	5216	1·4	City.
2,081	3·8	1894	2·5	2442	4·0	1446	3·4	12,544	3 3	Holborn.
1,483	1·8	1837	2·4	2655	4·3	3349	7·8	12,427	3·3	Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles.
5,130	6 3	4291	5·6	6846	11·2	5893	13·8	30,187	8·0	Total of Central London.
1,067	1·3	1860	2·5	1023	1·7	357	·8	6182	1·6	Woolwich.
1,940	4·9	3079	4·1	2130	3·5	864	2·0	14,239	3·8	Greenwich.
1,571	3·2	2319	3·1	2293	3·7	708	1·6	12,309	3·3	St. Olave, Southwark.
2,086	6·3	4937	6·6	3106	5·1	1140	2·7	20,738	5·5	Camberwell.
1,518	1·9	2295	3·1	1307	2·1	457	1·1	8252	2·2	Lewisham.
7,182	17·6	14,490	19·4	9859	16·1	3526	8·2	61,720	16·4	Total of S.-East London.
2,253	5·3	3927	5·2	3143	5·1	1397	3·3	18,341	4·9	St. Saviour's, Southwark.
3,988	7·4	5088	6·8	4316	7·0	2489	5·8	25,191	6·7	Lambeth.
4,108	6·3	5999	8·0	3164	5·2	1495	3·5	23,753	6·3	Wandsworth.
10,349	19·0	15,014	20·0	10,623	17·3	5381	12·6	67,285	17·9	Total of S.-West London.
39,410	100	75,028	100	61,209	100	42,861	100	376,697	100	GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON.

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

Classification.	(46.) Millers, Sugar Refiners, &c.		(47.) Brewers and Mineral Water Manufacturers.		(48.) Tobacco Manufacturers.		(49.) Bakers and Confectioners.		(50.) Milk-seller	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Without Servants.										
Families averaging—										
1. 4 or more persons to a room	239	*4·1*	680	*5·1*	1041	*5·3*	1641	*3·1*	449	*1*
2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room	446	*7·7*	1228	*9·2*	1860	*9·6*	3186	*6·0*	1300	*5*
3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room	1295	*22·3*	3103	*23·3*	3513	*18·1*	9115	*17·2*	3897	*15*
	1980	34·1	5011	37·6	6414	33·0	13,942	26·3	5646	22
4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room	1473	25·3	3641	27·2	3634	18·7	11,139	21·0	6154	24
5. Less than 1 person to a room	192	*3·3*	336	*2·5*	692	*3·6*	1574	*3·0*	903	*3*
6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly householders)	1365	*23·5*	2738	*20·5*	5571	*28·6*	17,911	*33·8*	9119	*35*
With Servants.										
Families averaging—										
A 4 or more persons to 1 servant	204	*3·5*	435	*3·3*	1418	*7·3*	5237	*9·9*	2152	*8*
	1761	30·3	3509	26·3	7681	39·5	24,722	46·7	12,174	47
B 1 to 3 persons to 1 servant, &c.	213	3·7	345	2·6	816	4·2	1483	2·8	709	2
C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c. ...	97	*1·7*	183	*1·4*	170	*·8*	169	*·3*	128	
D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c. ...	21	*·3*	37	*·2*	45	*·3*	25	—	7	
	118	2·0	220	1·6	215	1·1	194	·3	135	
E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c. ...	17	*·3*	65	*·5*	6	—	28	·1	2	
F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c. ...	17	*·3*	23	*·1*	—	—	14		—	
G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c. ...	—	—	15	*·1*	—	—	2		—	
H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c. ...	7	*·1*	32	*·2*	—	—	13		5	
	41	·7	135	·9	6	—	57	·1	7	
Servants	228	*3·9*	505	*3·8*	678	*3·5*	1490	*2·8*	713	
GRAND TOTAL...	5814	100	13,366	100	19,444	100	53,027	100	25,538	1

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population (continued).*

(51.) chers and shmongers.		(52.) Grocers and Oilmen.		(53.) Publicans.		(54.) Lodging and Coffee-house Keepers.		Total.		
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
386	*3·0*	1279	*1·7*	983	*1·6*	190	*·4*	8888	*2·4*	
950	*4·9*	2303	*3·1*	1362	*2·2*	415	*1·0*	16,050	*4·3*	
446	*15·5*	7975	*10·6*	3691	*6·0*	1505	*3·5*	46,540	*12·3*	
782	23·4	11,557	15·4	6036	9·8	2110	4·9	71,478	19·0	Without servants, 271,411, or 60,148 families = 4·52 persons per family.
361	20·3	13,638	18·2	4955	8·1	3014	7·0	64,009	17·0	
109	*2·6*	2940	*3·9*	956	*1·6*	872	*2·0*	10,574	*2·8*	
617	*30·6*	30,183	*40·2*	19,683	*32·2*	14,163	*33·1*	125,350	*33·3*	
962	*11·2*	8744	*11·7*	13,955	*22·8*	8208	*19·2*	49,315	*13·1*	
688	44·4	41,867	55·8	34,594	56·6	23,243	54·3	185,239	49·2	
399	5·5	3646	4·9	7460	12·3	6037	14·1	25,108	6·7	
184	*1·5*	770	*1·0*	1604	*2·6*	2095	*4·9*	6400	*1·7*	
165	*·2*	160	*·2*	270	*·4*	435	*1·0*	1165	*·3*	With servants, 83,017, or 15,801 families = 5·25 persons per family.
349	1·7	930	1·2	1874	3·0	2530	5·9	7565	2·0	
75		74	*·1*	184	*·3*	196	*·5*	647	*·1*	
14	*·1*	13	—	59		74	*·1*	214		
7		4	—	24	*·1*	24	*·1*	76	*·1*	
—	—	—	—	12		23		92		
96	·1	91	·1	279	·4	317	·7	1029	·2	
3735	*4·6*	3299	*4·4*	6011	*9·8*	5610	*13·1*	22,269	*5·9*	22,269
,410	100	75,028	100	61,209	100	42,861	100	376,697	100	376,697

PART III.—DEALERS AND CLERKS.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(55.) Ironmongers, China-dealers, &c.		(56.) Coal, Wood, and Hay dealers.		(57.) General Shopkeepers.		(58.) Costers and Street-sellers.		Total of Dealers, &c.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poplar	526	2·3	698	3·2	1233	3·9	509	2·1	2966	3·0
Mile End Old Town and Stepney	815	3·6	917	4·2	2276	7·2	1218	5·1	5226	5·2
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel	466	2·0	340	1·5	2685	8·5	2483	10·4	5974	6·0
Bethnal Green	575	2·5	721	3·3	2285	7·2	2177	9·2	5758	5·7
Shoreditch	639	2·8	899	4·1	1481	4·6	923	3·9	3942	3·9
Total of East London	3021	13·2	3575	16·3	9960	31·4	7310	30·7	23,866	23·8
Hackney	1411	6·1	1437	6·5	955	3·0	807	3·4	4610	4·6
Islington	1826	7·9	1570	7·1	1463	4·6	1121	4·7	5980	6·0
St. Pancras	1619	7·1	1068	4·9	1170	3·7	1309	5·5	5166	5·1
Marylebone and Hampstead	1574	6·9	1010	4·6	921	2·9	672	2·9	4177	4·2
Total of North London	6430	28·0	5085	23·1	4509	14·2	3909	16·5	19,933	19·9
Paddington	845	3·7	480	2·2	395	1·2	149	·6	1869	1·9
St. George's, Hanover Square	520	2·2	394	1·8	735	2·3	653	2·7	2302	2·3
Kensington	875	3·8	739	3·3	722	2·3	724	3·1	3060	3·0
Chelsea	499	2·2	260	1·2	439	1·4	272	1·1	1470	1·4
Fulham	1131	5·0	1126	5·1	808	2·6	728	3·1	3793	3·8
Total of West London	3870	16·9	2999	13·6	3099	9·8	2526	10·6	12,494	12·4
City	144	·6	44	·2	675	2·0	217	1·0	1080	1·1
Holborn	721	3·1	514	2·3	1397	4·4	1953	8·2	4585	4·6
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles	621	2·7	278	1·3	1014	3·3	771	3·2	2684	2·7
Total of Central London	1486	6·4	836	3·8	3086	9·7	2941	12·4	8349	8·3
Woolwich	280	1·2	488	2·2	438	1·4	266	1·1	1472	1·5
Greenwich	873	3·8	1152	5·3	1011	3·1	970	4·1	4006	4·0
St. Olave, Southwark	460	2·0	1008	4·6	941	3·0	556	2·3	2965	3·0
Camberwell	1440	6·3	1542	7·0	1581	4·9	982	4·2	5545	5·5
Lewisham	568	2·5	904	4·1	306	1·0	165	·7	1943	1·9
Total of S.-East London	3621	15·8	5094	23·2	4277	13·4	2939	12·4	15,931	15·9
St. Saviour's, Southwark	1089	4·7	1029	4·7	2923	9·2	2525	10·6	7566	7·5
Lambeth	1607	7·1	1555	7·1	2077	6·6	710	3·0	5949	5·9
Wandsworth	1823	7·9	1815	8·2	1816	5·7	900	3·8	6354	6·3
Total of S.-West London	4519	19·7	4399	20·0	6816	21·5	4135	17·4	19,869	19·7
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON	22,947	100	21,988	100	31,747	100	23,760	100	100.442	100

PART III.—DEALERS AND CLERKS (*continued*).

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population* (*continued*).

(59.) ...chants, ...kers, and ...okers.		(60.) Clerks.		Total of Merchants, Clerks, &c.		Combined Total.		Registration Districts.
...	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
000	*1·2*	4196	*2·3*	5096	2·0	8062	*2·3*	Poplar.
153	*1·6*	4808	*2·7*	5961	2·4	11,187	*3·1*	Mile End Old Town and Stepney.
397	*·5*	1372	*·7*	1769	*·7*	7743	*2·2*	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.
513	*·6*	1590	*·8*	2003	*·8*	7761	*2·2*	Bethnal Green.
485	*·7*	1881	*1·1*	2366	*·9*	6308	*1·8*	Shoreditch.
1348	4·6	13,847	7·6	17,195	6·8	41,061	11·6	Total of East London.
2006	*8·2*	21,071	*11·6*	26,977	10·6	31,587	*8·9*	Hackney.
1892	*7·6*	19,257	*10·7*	24.749	9·8	30,729	*8·6*	Islington.
848	*4·0*	8310	*4·6*	11,158	4·3	16,324	*4·6*	St. Pancras.
893	*9·6*	6743	*3·7*	13,636	5·3	17,813	*5·1*	Marylebone and Hampstead.
1139	29·4	55,381	30·6	76,520	30·0	96,453	27·2	Total of North London.
782	*5·3*	3744	*2·0*	7526	3·1	9395	*2·6*	Paddington.
288	*3·2*	3016	*1·7*	5304	2·1	7606	*2·2*	St. George's, Hanover Square.
020	*8·2*	4224	*2·3*	10,144	4·0	13.204	*3·7*	Kensington.
118	*1·6*	2697	*1·5*	3815	1·5	5285	*1·5*	Chelsea.
040	*4·2*	8944	*4·9*	11,984	4·8	15,777	*4·5*	Fulham.
1148	22·5	22,625	12·4	38,773	15·5	51,267	14·5	Total of West London.
186	*·3*	1128	*·7*	1314	*·5*	2394	*·7*	City.
018	*1·3*	2760	*1·5*	3678	1·5	8263	*2·3*	Holborn.
622	*2·2*	2019	*1·1*	3641	1·4	6325	*1·8*	Strand, Westminster and St. Giles.
726	3·8	5907	3·3	8633	3·4	16,982	4·8	Total of Central London.
276	*1·8*	2557	*1·4*	3833	1·5	5305	*1·5*	Woolwich.
575	*3·6*	8394	*4·7*	10,969	4·3	14.975	*4·2*	Greenwich.
749	*1·0*	3618	*1·9*	4367	1·8	7332	*2·1*	St. Olave, Southwark.
052	*7·0*	21,576	*11·9*	26,628	10·5	32,173	*9·1*	Camberwell.
479	*6·2*	8011	*4·4*	12.490	4·9	14,433	*4·1*	Lewisham.
731	19·6	44,156	24·3	58,287	23·0	74,218	21·0	Total of S.-East London.
462	*2·0*	6058	*3·3*	7520	3·0	15,086	*4·2*	St. Saviour, Southwark.
600	*7·4*	15,998	*8·8*	21,298	8·4	27,247	*7·7*	Lambeth.
580	*10·7*	17,617	*9·7*	25,297	9·9	31,651	*9·0*	Wandsworth.
542	20·1	39,673	21·8	54.115	21·3	73,984	20·9	Total of S.-West London.
034	100	181,589	100	253.523	100	353,965	100	GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON.

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

	Classification.	(55.) Ironmongers, China-dealers, &c.		(56.) Coal, Wood, and Hay Dealers.		(57) General Shopkeepers.		(58.) Costers and Street-sellers.		Total of Dealers, &
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Without Servants.	Families averaging—									
	1. 4 or more persons to a room	435	*1·9*	472	*2·1*	2642	*8·3*	4432	*18·7*	7981
	2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room	793	*3·5*	900	*4·1*	3288	*10·4*	4088	*17·2*	9069
	3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room	2275	*9·9*	2705	*12·3*	6851	*21·6*	6972	*29·3*	18,803
		3503	15·3	4077	18·5	12,781	40·3	15,492	65·2	35,853
	4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room	3520	15·3	3618	16·4	7200	22.7	4644	19·6	18,982
	5. Less than 1 person to a room	723	*3·2*	653	*3·0*	1445	*4·6*	507	*2·1*	3328
	6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly house-holders)	7450	*32·5*	7221	*32·9*	7813	*24·6*	2815	*11·9*	25,299
With Servants.	Families averaging—									
	A 4 or more persons to 1 servant	3332	*14·5*	2226	*10·1*	1405	*4·4*	137	*·5*	7100
		11,505	50·2	10.100	46·0	10,663	33·6	3459	14·5	35,727
	B 1 to 3 persons to a servant, &c.	2000	8·7	1605	7·3	410	1·3	79	·3	4094
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c.....	461	*2·0*	618	*2·8*	165	*·5*	7	*·06*	1251
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c.....	107	*·5*	209	*1·0*	3	—	5		324
		568	2·5	827	3·8	168	·5	12	·06	1575
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c.....	75	*·3*	104	*·5*	15	—	9	*·04*	203
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c.....	16	*·1*	33	*·1*	4	—	—	—	53
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c.	7	—	7	*·1*	3	—	—	—	17
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c.	27	*·1*	13		—	—	—	—	40
		125	·5	157	·7	22	—	9	·04	313
	Servants	1726	*7·5*	1604	*7·3*	503	*1·6*	65	*·3*	3898
	GRAND TOTAL...	22,947	100	21,988	100	31,747	100	23,760	100	100,442

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population (continued).*

(59.) rchants, kers, and brokers.		(60.) Clerks.		Total of Merchants, Clerks, &c.		Combined Total.		
o.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
456	·6	1785	·9	2241	·9	10,222	*2·9*	
765	*1·1*	3773	*2·1*	4538	1·8	13,607	*3·8*	
140	*4·4*	13,769	*7·6*	16,909	6·7	35,712	*10·1*	
261	6·1	19,327	10·6	23,688	9·4	59,541	16·8	Without servants, 239,357 persons, or 58,443 families = 4·1 persons per family.
110	8·5	34,448	19·0	40,558	16·0	59,540	16·8	
353	*2·5*	9289	*5·1*	11,142	4·4	14,470	*4·1*	
727	*21·9*	64,780	*35·7*	80,507	31·7	105,806	*29·9*	
125	*14·1*	25,733	*14·2*	35,858	14·1	42,958	*12·2*	With servants, 85,178 persons, or 17,618 families = 4·83 persons per family.
705	38·5	99,802	55·0	127,507	50·2	163,234	46·2	
354	13·0	12,291	6·7	21,645	8·6	25,739	7·3	
372	*7·5*	2692	*1·5*	8064	3·2	9315	*2·6*	
114	*2·9*	652	·3	2766	1·1	3090	·9	
486	10·4	3344	1·8	10,830	4·3	12,405	3·5	
728	*2·4*	387	·2	2115	·8	2318	·6	
562	·8	135	·1	697	·3	750	·2	
294	·4	28	—	322	·1	339	·1	
512	·8	17		629	·3	669	·2	
196	4·4	567	·3	3763	1·5	4076	1·1	
722	*19·1*	11,810	*6·6*	25,532	10·0	29,430	*8·3*	29,430
934	100	181,589	100	253,523	100	353,965	100	= 353,965

PART IV.—LOCOMOTION, ETC.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(61.) Cabmen, Coachmen, Busmen, &c.		(62.) Carmen and Carters.		(63.) Railway Service.		(64.) Railway Labour.		(65.) Gardeners & Nurserymen	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poplar	2132	1·5	3903	3·3	3827	5·4	664	5·6	174	
Mile End Old Town and Stepney	2706	1·9	7519	6·4	1091	1·5	225	1·9	79	
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel	1508	1·0	4987	4·3	763	1·1	88	·7	43	
Bethnal Green	1701	1·2	5270	4·5	1187	1·7	155	1·3	98	
Shoreditch	2218	1·5	4937	4·2	746	1·1	43	·4	46	
Total of East London	10,265	7·1	26,616	22·7	7614	10·8	1175	9·9	440	1
Hackney	5045	3·5	4211	3·6	2668	3·7	346	3·0	1840	5
Islington	14,541	10·1	9585	8·2	8343	11·7	1300	11·0	1960	6
St. Pancras	11,551	8·0	7856	6·7	9610	13·5	1062	9·0	1270	3
Marylebone and Hampstead	13,556	9·4	3826	3·2	1376	1·9	340	2·8	2592	7
Total of North London	44,693	31·0	25,478	21·7	21,997	30·8	3048	25·8	7662	23
Paddington	9393	6·5	3472	3·0	2806	4·0	234	2·0	697	2
St. George's, Hanover Square	9277	6·4	2630	2·2	846	1·2	26	·2	333	1
Kensington	12,174	8·4	2593	2·2	1623	2·3	502	4·3	1040	3
Chelsea	5404	3·8	2428	2·1	2596	3·6	258	2·2	642	2
Fulham	7848	5·5	4677	4·0	3721	5·3	1139	9·6	2209	6
Total of West London	44,096	30·6	15,800	13·5	11,592	16·4	2159	18·3	4921	15
City	311	·2	419	·3	136	·2	210	1·8	26	–
Holborn	4649	3·2	5235	4·5	991	1·4	49	·4	132	
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles	2714	1·9	1698	1·5	135	·2	44	·4	307	1
Total of Central London	7674	5·3	7352	6·3	1262	1·8	303	2·6	465	1
Woolwich	791	·6	1010	·9	773	1·1	141	1·2	711	2
Greenwich	2476	1·7	3557	3·0	4878	6·9	643	5·4	1433	4
St. Olave, Southwark	1475	1·0	6841	5·8	2207	3·1	240	2·0	110	
Camberwell	6097	4·2	6091	5·2	3132	4·4	598	5·1	1937	5
Lewisham	2527	1·8	1493	1·3	919	1·3	444	3·7	4058	12
Total of South-East London	13,366	9·3	18,992	16·2	11,909	16·8	2066	17·4	8249	24
St. Saviour, Southwark	6525	4·5	8796	7·5	1874	2·6	334	2·8	257	
Lambeth	8544	5·9	8456	7·2	5953	8·4	910	7·8	3717	11
Wandsworth	9074	6·3	5769	4·9	8811	12·4	1821	15·4	7327	22
Total of South-West London	24,143	16·7	23,021	19·6	16,638	23·4	3065	26·0	11,301	34
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON	144,237	100	117,259	100	71,012	100	11,816	100	33,038	1

PART IV.—LOCOMOTION, ETC. (*continued*).

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population* (*continued*).

(66.) Country Labour.		(67.) Seamen.		(68.) Lightermen and Watermen.		Total.		Registration Districts.
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
287	*2·7*	4125	*26·0*	3308	*17·0*	18,420	*4·3*	Poplar.
293	*2·7*	1697	*10·7*	3374	*17·3*	16,984	*4·0*	Mile End Old Town and Stepney.
78	·7	672	*4·2*	1082	*5·5*	9221	*2·2*	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.
160	*1·5*	156	*1·0*	157	·8	8884	*2·1*	Bethnal Green.
295	*2·7*	51	·3	88	·4	8424	*2·0*	Shoreditch.
113	10·3	6701	42·2	8009	41·0	61,933	14·6	Total of East London.
449	*4·2*	377	*2·4*	159	·8	15,095	*3·6*	Hackney.
257	*11·7*	292	*1·8*	59	·3	37,337	*8·8*	Islington.
380	*3·5*	177	*1·1*	68	·3	31,974	*7·6*	St. Pancras.
264	*2·5*	323	*2·1*	21	·1	22,298	*5·2*	Marylebone and Hampstead.
350	21·9	1169	7·4	307	1·5	106,704	25·2	Total of North London.
146	*1·3*	168	*1·1*	146	·7	17,062	*4·0*	Paddington.
134	*1·2*	185	*1·2*	190	*1·0*	13,621	*3·2*	St. George's, Hanover Square
341	*3·2*	298	*1·9*	34	·2	18,605	*4·4*	Kensington.
140	*1·3*	115	·7	249	*1·3*	11,832	*2·8*	Chelsea.
907	*8·5*	206	*1·3*	278	*1·4*	20,985	*5·0*	Fulham.
668	15·5	972	6·2	897	4·6	82,105	19·4	Total of West London.
14	·1	31	·2	95	·5	1242	·3	City.
306	*2·9*	124	·8	52	·2	11,538	*2·7*	Holborn.
98	·9	96	·6	1	—	5093	*1·2*	Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles.
418	3·9	251	1·6	148	·7	17,873	4·2	Total of Central London.
701	*6·5*	554	*3·5*	814	*4·2*	5495	*1·3*	Woolwich.
911	*8·5*	2377	*15·0*	2431	*12·5*	18,706	*4·4*	Greenwich.
316	*3·0*	1691	*10·7*	3928	*20·1*	16,808	*4·0*	St. Olave, Southwark.
448	*4·2*	519	*3·3*	297	*1·5*	19,119	*4·5*	Camberwell.
661	*6·1*	303	*1·9*	85	·4	10,490	*2·5*	Lewisham.
037	28·3	5444	34·4	7555	38·7	70,618	16·7	Total of South-East London.
551	*5·1*	311	*2·0*	553	*2·8*	19,201	*4·5*	St. Saviour, Southwark.
668	*6·3*	423	*2·7*	805	*4·1*	29,476	*7·0*	Lambeth.
928	*8·7*	562	*3·5*	1292	*6·6*	35,584	*8·4*	Wandsworth.
147	20·1	1296	8·2	2650	13·5	84,261	19·9	Total of South-West London
733	100	15,833	100	19,566	100	423,494	100	GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON.

Table B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

	Classification.	(61.) Cabmen, Coachmen, Busmen, &c.		(62.) Carmen and Carters.		(63.) Railway Service.		(64.) Railway Labour.		(65.) Gardeners Nurserym
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Without Servants.	Families averaging—									
	1. 4 or more persons to a room	9196	*6·4*	10,995	*9·4*	1638	*2·3*	406	*3·4*	805
	2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room	16,472	*11·4*	20,637	*17·6*	4244	*6·0*	1023	*8·7*	1491
	3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room	40,209	*27·9*	34,273	*29·3*	13,830	*19·5*	3545	*30·0*	5510
		65,877	45·7	65,905	56·3	19,712	27·8	4974	42·1	7806
	4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room	45,454	31·5	30,879	26·3	24,040	33·9	3848	32·7	9104
	5. Less than 1 person to a room	5164	*3·6*	2290	*1·9*	3112	*4.4*	430	*3·6*	1711
	6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly householders)	24,995	*17·3*	17,041	*14·6*	21,605	*30·5*	2324	*19·7*	12,231
With Servants.	Families averaging—									
	A 4 or more persons to 1 servant	1469	*1·1*	614	*·5*	1342	*1·9*	129	*1·1*	1096
		31,628	22·0	19,945	17·0	26,059	36·8	2883	24·4	15,038
	B 1 to 3 persons to 1 servant	522	·3	218	·2	534	·7	27	·2	452
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants	129	*·1*	69	—	96	*·1*	26	*·2*	95
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants	26	—	4	—	31	—	3	—	25
		155	·1	73	—	127	·1	29	·2	120
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c. ...	15	—	9	—	19	—	2	—	6
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c. ...	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c. ...	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	5
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14
		16	—	9	—	22	—	2	—	27
	Servants	585	·4	230	·2	518	·7	53	·4	491
	Grand Total...	144,237	100	117,259	100	71,012	100	11,816	100	33,038

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population (continued).*

(66.) ountry bour.		(67.) Seamen.		(68.) Lightermen and Watermen		Total.		Classification.
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
59	5·2	574	3·6	649	3·3	24,822	5·9	
15	9·5	1047	6·6	1258	6·5	47,187	11·1	
30	24·0	3218	20·4	4944	25.2	108,109	25·6	
54	38·7	4839	30·6	6851	35·0	180,118	42·6	Without servants, 410,970 persons, or 91,426 families = 4·5 persons per family.
17	24·4	4372	27·6	5811	29·8	126,125	29·9	
40	3·2	658	4·2	700	3·6	14,405	3·4	
18	23·5	4025	25·4	5583	28·6	90,322	21·3	
16	2·9	559	3·5	299	1·5	5824	1·4	
74	29·6	5242	33·1	6582	33·7	110,551	26·1	
42	2·3	295	1·9	143	·7	2433	·5	
65	1·5	250	1·6	38	·2	868	·2	With servants, 9623 persons, or 1890 families = 5·1 persons per family.
42	·4	101	·6	13	—	245	—	
07	1·9	351	2·2	51	·2	1113	·2	
13	·1	77	·5	—	—	141	—	
—	—	21	·1	—	—	24	—	
4	—	33	·2	—	—	45	—	
15	·1	14	·1	—	—	43	—	
32	·2	145	·9	—	—	253	—	
07	2·9	589	3·7	128	·6	2901	·7	2901
33	100	15,833	100	19,566	100	423,494	100	423,494

PART V.—LABOUR.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(69.) Dock and Wharf Service.		(70.) Dock Labour.		(71.) Coal-heavers and Porters.		(72.) Gas Works Service.		(73.) Warehous and Messe
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Poplar	2138	*26·2*	9898	*22·8*	608	*3·9*	1670	*7·9*	2249
Mile End Old Town and Stepney	1077	*13·2*	8309	*19·2*	1433	*9·3*	966	*4·6*	3873
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel	554	*6·8*	5604	*13·0*	372	*2·4*	432	*2·1*	2121
Bethnal Green	307	*3·7*	2368	*5·4*	418	*2·7*	271	*1·3*	3861
Shoreditch	208	*2·5*	420	*·9*	244	*1·5*	651	*3·1*	4104
Total of East London	4284	52·4	26,599	61·3	3075	19·8	3990	19·0	16,208
Hackney	344	*4·3*	557	*1·3*	496	*3·2*	769	*3·6*	4110
Islington	89	*1·1*	156	*·3*	1988	*12·8*	1094	*5·1*	4804
St. Pancras	37	*·5*	69	*·2*	1739	*11·2*	423	*2·1*	4019
Marylebone and Hampstead	32	*·4*	75	*·2*	266	*1·7*	236	*1·1*	3007
Total of North London	502	6·3	857	2·0	4489	28·9	2522	11·9	15,940
Paddington	86	*1·0*	62	*·2*	238	*1·5*	120	*·6*	1216
St. George's, Hanover Square	105	*1·3*	87	*·2*	190	*1·2*	643	*3·1*	3024
Kensington	70	*·8*	4	—	553	*3·6*	744	*3·4*	1378
Chelsea	30	*·4*	91	*·2*	396	*2·6*	540	*2·5*	1096
Fulham	77	*1·0*	76	*·2*	1400	*9·1*	1492	*7·1*	1522
Total of West London	368	4·5	320	·8	2777	18·0	3539	16·7	8236
City	8	*·1*	202	*·5*	10	—	13	—	1779
Holborn	15	*·2*	495	*1·2*	175	*1·1*	213	*1·0*	4525
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles	21	*·2*	28	—	65	*·5*	65	*·3*	3260
Total of Central London	44	·5	725	1·7	250	1·6	291	1·3	9564
Woolwich	197	*2·4*	365	*·8*	178	*1·1*	596	*2·8*	427
Greenwich	837	*10·3*	2823	*6·5*	757	*4·9*	2029	*9·7*	1785
St. Olave, Southwark	802	*9·9*	7452	*17·2*	290	*1·9*	620	*2·9*	4707
Camberwell	330	*4·1*	749	*1·7*	424	*2·7*	1915	*9·0*	4299
Lewisham	156	*1·9*	27	—	57	*·4*	994	*4·7*	721
Total of S.-East London	2322	28·6	11,416	26·2	1706	11·0	6154	29·1	11,939
St. Saviour, Southwark	167	*2·1*	2393	*5·5*	834	*5·4*	479	*2·3*	6601
Lambeth	250	*3·1*	768	*1·8*	791	*5·1*	1640	*7·7*	4244
Wandsworth	205	*2·5*	319	*·7*	1577	*10·2*	2548	*12·0*	3540
Total of S.-West London	622	7·7	3480	8·0	3202	20·7	4667	22·0	14,385
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON	8142	100	43,397	100	15,499	100	21,163	100	76,272

PART V.—LABOUR (*continued*).

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population* (*continued*).

(74.) General Labourers.		(75.) Factory Labourers.		(76.) Engine Drivers and Artisans.		Total.		Registration Districts.
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
,157	8·6	751	4·8	3665	8·1	38,136	9·0	Poplar.
,396	5·7	593	3·8	1862	4·1	29,509	6·9	Mile End Old Town and Stepney.
566	3·3	269	1·7	764	1·7	16,682	3·9	St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.
5135	2·5	455	2·9	1102	2·5	13,917	3·3	Bethnal Green.
3834	1·9	488	3·1	1296	2·8	11,245	2·7	Shoreditch.
,088	22·0	2556	16·3	8689	19·2	109,489	25·8	Total of East London.
5870	3·0	587	3·7	1517	3·3	14,250	3·4	Hackney.
8017	4·0	871	5·5	2675	5·9	19,694	4·6	Islington.
6433	3·2	528	3·4	1827	4·0	15,075	3·5	St. Pancras.
5347	2·7	221	1·4	794	1·8	9978	2·3	Marylebone and Hampstead.
,667	12·9	2207	14·0	6813	15·0	58,997	13·8	Total of North London.
2081	1·1	106	·7	570	1·2	4479	1·1	Paddington.
3624	1·8	314	2·0	821	1·8	8808	2·2	St. George's, Hanover Square.
5352	3·1	138	·9	724	1·6	9963	2·3	Kensington.
4172	2·1	107	·7	775	1·7	7207	1·6	Chelsea.
,911	6·0	242	1·5	1826	4·0	18,546	4·3	Fulham.
,140	14·1	907	5·8	4716	10·3	49,003	11·5	Total of West London.
623	·3	155	1·0	161	·3	2951	·7	City.
4244	2·2	814	5·2	1852	4·1	12,333	2·9	Holborn.
3958	2·0	241	1·5	658	1·5	8296	1·9	Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles.
8825	4·5	1210	7·7	2671	5·9	23,580	5·5	Total of Central London.
,412	6·2	4590	29·2	3890	8·6	22,655	5·3	Woolwich.
,250	7·6	516	3·3	3177	7·0	27,174	6·4	Greenwich.
,947	6·0	607	3·9	2843	6·3	29,268	6·9	St. Olave, Southwark.
8099	4·1	578	3·7	1929	4·2	18,323	4·3	Camberwell.
4733	2·3	39	·2	567	1·2	7294	1·7	Lewisham.
,441	26·2	6330	40·3	12,406	27·3	104,714	24·6	Total of S.-East London.
9,384	5·2	1053	6·7	2847	6·3	24,758	5·9	St. Saviour, Southwark.
,061	6·5	639	4·1	3037	6·7	24,430	5·8	Lambeth.
,169	8·6	788	5·1	4211	9·3	30,357	7·1	Wandsworth.
,614	20·3	2480	15·9	10,095	22·3	79,545	18·8	Total of S.-West London.
0,775	100	15,690	100	45,390	100	425,328	100	GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON.

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

	Classification.	(69.) Dock and Wharf Service.		(70.) Dock Labour.		(71.) Coal-heavers and Porters.		(72.) Gas Works Service.		(73.) Warehouse and Messen
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Without Servants.	Families averaging—									
	1. 4 or more persons to a room	244	*3·0*	5659	*13·1*	2072	*13·4*	1099	*5·2*	5360
	2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room	388	*4·8*	6637	*15·3*	2567	*16·6*	1897	*9·0*	8268
	3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room	1427	*17·5*	14,792	*34·1*	5266	*34·0*	6281	*29·7*	20.818
		2059	25·3	27,088	62·5	9905	64·0	9277	43·9	34,446
	4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room	2026	24·9	10,646	24·5	3553	22·9	6214	29·4	22,078
	5. Less than 1 person to a room	347	*4·3*	802	*1·8*	261	*1·7*	666	*3·1*	2454
	6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly house-holders).....	2728	*33·4*	4738	*10·9*	1676	*10·8*	4694	*22·3*	15,037
With Servants.	Families averaging—									
	A 4 or more persons to a servant	338	*4·2*	76	*·2*	88	*·6*	155	*·7*	1094
		3413	41·9	5616	12·9	2025	13·1	5515	26·1	18.585
	B 1 to 3 persons to a servant, &c.	221	2·7	27	*·1*	2	--	76	·3	555
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c.....	112	*1·4*	—	—	—	—	4	—	112
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c.....	26	*·3*	—	—	—	—	3	—	6
		138	1·7	—	—	—	—	7	—	118
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c. ...	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c. ...	23	*·3*	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c. ...	7	*·1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
		36	·4	—	—	—	—	2	—	17
	Servants	249	*3·1*	20	—	14	—	72	*·3*	473
	GRAND TOTAL...	8142	100	43,397	100	15,499	100	21,163	100	76,272

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population (continued).*

(74.) General Labourers.		(75.) Factory Labourers.		(76.) Engine drivers and Artisans.		Total.		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
.875	*10·9*	859	*5·5*	1757	*3·9*	38,925	*9·2*	Without servants, 419,622 persons, or 93,453 families = 4·5 persons per family.
.428	*15·2*	1357	*8·7*	3491	*7·7*	55,033	*10·3*	
.588	*32·4*	4314	*27·5*	11,436	*25·1*	128,922	*33·0*	
.891	58·5	6530	41·7	16,684	36·7	222,880	52·5	
966	26·1	5318	33·9	13,586	30·1	115,387	27·2	
594	*2·3*	554	*3·5*	1697	*3·7*	11,375	*2·7*	
863	*13·0*	3233	*20·7*	12,011	*26·5*	69,980	*16·4*	
281	*·1*	42	*·2*	864	*1·9*	2938	*·7*	With servants, 4484 persons, or 880 families = 5·1 persons per family.
738	15·4	3829	24·4	14,572	32·1	84,293	19·8	
69	—	3	—	205	·4	1158	·2	
3	—	—	—	32	*·1*	263	—	
3	—	—	—	17	—	*55*	—	
6	—	—	—	49	·1	318	—	
—	—	—	—	13	—	26	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	28	—	
2	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	
2	—	—	—	13	—	70	—	
03	—	10	—	281	*·6*	1222	*·3*	1222
75	100	15,690	100	45,390	100	425,328	100	425,328

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